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THE TETI CEMETERY AT SAQQARA

Volume II

The Tomb of Ankhmahor

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The Tomb of Ankhmahor

N. Kanawati and A. Hassan

With contributions by A. Cavanagh,
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The mastaba of Ankhmahor lies in the cemetery to the north of Teti's pyramid at Saqqara. It is the second tomb, after that of Nefer-seshem-Re, in the north-south street known as the 'rue de tombeaux' which separates a row of tombs of higher officials on the west side from the pyramids of Teti's queens on the east. The tomb of Ankhmahor is one of the important monuments of the Old Kingdom and had a strong influence on Egyptian art of the Sixth Dynasty and later.

Discovered in 1897 during the excavations of V. Loret (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd ser. no. 10 [Cairo, 1899], 85-100) the mastaba was published in 1907 by J. Capart but in photographs only in *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* (Brussels, 1907: vol. 1, 27-62, vol. 2, pls. 19-75). The main shaft and burial chamber were cleared during excavations carried out in this cemetery by C. M. Firth and B. Gunn between 1920-1922 and published in *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926: vol. 1, 16-18, 93-102; vol. 2, pls. 6, 13:D, 14:2, 51, 58:1-3). In 1978 the tomb was republished by A. Badawy in photographs and line drawings accompanied by detailed commentary in *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley, 1978: 11-57, figs. 16-64, pls. 20-90).

None of the previous publications has presented the reader with a complete record of this richly decorated tomb and even the most recent, that of Badawy, did not provide facsimile drawings of the scenes and inscriptions in rooms V and VII. Similarly, the burial chamber was not re-cleared and the only record of its wall scenes has been the photographs published by Firth and Gunn. Considering the limited number of decorated burial chambers in the Old Kingdom, a complete record with facsimile drawings of that of Ankhmahor was felt to be of great importance. A comparison of Badawy's line drawings with the scenes and inscriptions in the chapel revealed also some minor inaccuracies and incomplete details. It was therefore decided to make a new and complete record of the tomb, including the architecture. It is not the intention in this volume to demonstrate inconsistencies in previous publications, but earlier drawings and photographs have been carefully considered in the course of our epigraphic work and in producing the architectural drawings.

The present project is a joint effort of the Australian Centre for Egyptology and the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities. Its aims, as stated in volume 1 of the present series, are: a) to carry out an archaeological survey of the cemetery of Teti and to produce a detailed map with tomb locations; b) to excavate the area defined on the east by the temenos walls of the pyramids of Queens Khuit and Iput, on the west by the mastaba of Shepsi-pu-Ptah and on the south by the mastaba of Nefer-seshem-Ptah; c) to fully publish the results of our excavations as well as complete reports of certain known mastabas in this area which have not received the attention they deserve; d) to undertake a synthesis study of the material from this cemetery pertaining to the Old Kingdom as well as later periods. This will include a detailed examination of the human remains, DNA analysis, carbon dating of certain organic materials and a study of the ceramic and other objects discovered.

The recording of the tomb of Ankhmahor was undertaken during November-December 1995, and the results checked again in 1996. The main shaft and burial chamber were re-cleared in order to produce new architectural plans as well as

photographs and facsimile drawings of the scenes and inscriptions in the burial chamber. It was noticed that while the limestone lining slabs of the burial chamber have largely remained in the same position as when originally discovered, the colours have deteriorated badly and in some areas almost entirely disappeared. Conservation work was undertaken in order to preserve the surviving painted decoration.

The present work was financially supported by the National Geographic Society, the Australian Research Council and Macquarie University Research Grants. We would like to express our most sincere appreciation to these organisations for their continuing support, without which this project could never have been accomplished.

The Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities continued to provide invaluable cooperation during the fieldwork in Egypt, and in this respect we would like to extend our special thanks to Dr. Zahi Hawass, Director-General of Giza and Saqqara, and Mr. Mohamed Hagra, Director of Antiquities at Saqqara, as well as personnel of the Saqqara Inspectorate of Antiquities. Our accompanying inspectors, Mr. Nour el-Din Abd el-Samad and Mr. Ezat el-Gendi, showed keen interest in our project and provided every possible assistance, for which we would like to express our warmest appreciation. Reis Mohamed Abu-Shehat directed the workmen in his usual efficient way.

It is always a great pleasure to acknowledge the individual contributions of the members of the expedition who assisted with work on site. The epigraphic team included Mr. Paul Cowie, Dr. Ann McFarlane, Miss Jane Roy (all Macquarie University) and Mr. Sameh Shafik (Sohag). The initial architectural measurements and plans were prepared by Mr. Allan Cavanagh and Mrs. Delma Cavanagh (Newcastle). Mrs. Gael Callaghan and Miss Tracey Callaghan (Macquarie University) were responsible for conservation work carried out in the burial chamber.

We would like to extend our appreciation to those who assisted in the preparation of this monograph. Dr. Ann McFarlane (Macquarie University) was responsible for writing the architectural descriptions, the colour conventions and the inscribed fragments. The final line drawings of all scenes and inscriptions were executed by Mr. Sameh Shafik (Sohag), and the architectural plans produced for publication by Mr. Naguib Victor (Sydney). The photographs were provided by Mr. Mustafa Abd el-Maqsood and Mr. Nasser el-Din Abd el-Monem (Egyptian Museum, Cairo). The final art work was prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson and Mrs. Joan Pollett (Macquarie University). The manuscript was edited, with assistance from Dr. Desmond Bright, Mrs. Joan Pollett and Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, and produced for printing by Dr. Ann McFarlane.

Naguib Kanawati and Ali Hassan

ABBREVIATIONS

- Akten des Vierten IÄK:** *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, 4 vols. (Hamburg, 1988-91).
- Arnold, Building:** Arnold, D., *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (New York, 1991).
- ASAE:** *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
- BACE:** *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*.
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- BIE:** *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*.
- BIFAO:** *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.
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I THE TOMB OWNER, HIS FAMILY AND DEPENDENTS

Tomb Owner

NAME

- 1- $\epsilon nh-m-\epsilon Hr^1$ 'Ankhmahor'. On the south thickness of the entrance doorway this name is referred to as $rn.f\epsilon$ 'his great name'.²
- 2- Zzj^3 'Sesi'. The name is frequently described as $rn.f nfr$ 'his beautiful name'.

TITLES

- 1- $jwn Knmwt$ 'pillar of the Kenmut'. The title is frequently held together with that of $mdw Rhjt$, and Helck wonders if the $Knmwt$, like the $Rhjt$, represents a class of people.⁴
- 2- $jm\epsilon$ ϵ 'agreeable of hand'? The reading and meaning of this title are not clear.⁵
- 3- $jmj jz Nhjn$ 'he who is in the jz -chamber of Nekhen'.⁶
- 4- $jmj-r jzwy$ 'overseer of the two chambers'.
- 5- $jmj-r prwj-hd$ 'overseer of the two treasuries'.⁷
- 6- $jmj-r hwt-wrt$ 'overseer of the great court'.⁸
- 7- $jmj-r zš(w) \epsilon nswt$ 'overseer of the scribes of the king's documents'.⁹
- 8- $jmj-r zšwj$ 'overseer of the two fowl pools'.¹⁰
- 9- $jmj-r zšwj m\epsilon$ 'true overseer of the two fowl pools'.
- 10- $jmj-r zšwj n shmlh-jb$ 'overseer of the two fowl pools of recreation'.
- 11- $jmj-r sdmt nbt št\epsilon(t)$ 'overseer of all secret hearings'.¹¹
- 12- $jmj-r šn t\epsilon nb$ 'overseer of all vegetation'.¹²
- 13- $jmj-r k\epsilon t$ 'overseer of works'.¹³
- 14- $jmj-r k\epsilon t nbt nt nswt$ 'overseer of all the works of the king'.
- 15- $jmj-r k\epsilon t nbt nt nswt m t\epsilon r dr.f$ 'overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land'.
- 16- $jrj-p\epsilon t$ 'hereditary prince'.

¹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 64:2, where the reading $\epsilon nh.j-m-\epsilon hr$ 'my life is in the hand of Horus' is also proposed.

² The same phenomenon is found in the case of $Hntj-k\epsilon j$ (James, *Khentika*, 12, 67, pl. 28).

³ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 297:22.

⁴ *Beamtentitel*, 74 n.54.

⁵ See comment in Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 105-106 n.6.

⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 29-30; Fischer, *Varia*, 119.

⁷ For a study of this title see Strudwick, *Administration*, 284ff.

⁸ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 60; Strudwick, *Administration*, 176ff.



⁹ During the Sixth Dynasty the title was held, with rare exceptions, only by viziers (ibid, 214).

¹⁰ *Wb* 3, 484. James translates the title as 'overseer of the two pools' (*Khentika*, 10) and Badawy as 'overseer of the two fowl ponds' ($\epsilon Ankhm\epsilon ahor$, 50).

¹¹ The title was held by $K\epsilon gm-n.j$ (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 105, 115).

¹² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 66; Fischer, *Dendera*, 172, 234; idem, *Ip*, 23, no.6. The title is also translated as 'overseer of all hair of the earth' (Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 7).

¹³ For a study of responsibilities of this office and the two which follow see Strudwick, *Administration*, 217ff.

- 17- *mnjw Nhn* 'keeper of Nekhen'.¹⁴
- 18- *mdw Rhjt* 'staff of the Rekhyt-people'.
- 19- *mdh zš nswt* 'master architect of the king'.¹⁵
- 20- *h3tj-ε* 'count'.
- 21- *hm-ntr M3t* 'priest of Maat'.
- 22- *hm-ntr Hqt* 'priest of Heket'.
- 23- *hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt* 'privy to the secrets of all commands'.¹⁶
- 24- *hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt š3t nt nswt* 'privy to the secrets of all secret commands of the king'.
- 25- *hrj-sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt* 'privy to the secrets of the king in all his places'.¹⁷
- 26- *hrj-tp Nhb* 'chief of Nekheb'.
- 27- *hntj-š dd-swT-Ttj* 'hntj-š official of the pyramid: One steadfast of places is Teti'.¹⁸
- 28- *ht*  'attendant of '.¹⁹
- 29- *hrj-hbt hrj-tp* 'chief lector priest'.
- 30- *hrj-tp nswt* 'royal chamberlain'.
- 31- *sm* 'sem-priest'.
- 32- *shd hm(w)-ntr dd-swT-Ttj* 'superintendent of priests of the pyramid: One steadfast of places is Teti'.
- 33- *t3tj z3b t3tj* 'he of the curtain, judge and vizier'.²⁰

Wife of Ankhmahor

No wife appears in the surviving decoration of *εnh-m-ε-Hr*'s chapel,²¹ yet this does not necessarily mean that no wife was originally depicted. In the adjacent tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, the wife is shown only on the walls of the innermost room and on the thicknesses of the doorway leading to this same room.²² The wall space where such representations could have existed in rooms IV and VI of *εnh-m-ε-Hr*'s chapel is too fragmentary or totally missing. *εnh-m-ε-Hr* must have been married, probably more than once, since he had at least two sons designated as eldest.²³

Sons of Ankhmahor

The only name preserved for any son of *εnh-m-ε-Hr* is *Jšff*²⁴ 'Ishfi', but a study of the scenes where sons are depicted suggests the presence of a number of sons with the same name. The representation of two group statues of *εnh-m-ε-Hr* with a

¹⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 23.

¹⁵ Fischer, *Varia*, 30 n.9. Helck takes the title to be that of a master of royal scribes (*Beamtentitel*, 75-76).

¹⁶ James, *Khentika*, 9. For the translation of *wdt-mdw* as 'judgments' see Junker, *Gîza* 3, 204; vol. 11, 126, 173; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, 3.

¹⁷ Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 23.

¹⁸ For the responsibilities of the office of *hntj-š* see Junker, *Gîza* 6, 15-19; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 107-109, 115-16; Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê - Kakaï*, 577ff.

¹⁹ For comments on this ambiguous title see McFarlane, *GM* 121 [1991], 88-89.

²⁰ For a study of the office see Strudwick, *Administration*, 300ff.

²¹ The same phenomenon has been observed by James in the tomb of *Hntj-k3.j* (*Khentika*, 14).

²² Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 90-93, 97, 101.

²³ El-Khouli - Kanawati, *Saqqara* 2, 25-26.

²⁴ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 47:6.

son named *Jšff* on the south wall of room II probably shows the owner at different stages of his life and with different sons.²⁵ This may be gleaned from the fact that the first son is depicted larger in size than the second son and that his figure and inscriptions have been deliberately chiselled out while those belonging to the second son remain intact. It is curious that the first son is shown accompanying a nude figure of his father. The significance of such a unique representation in Old Kingdom statuary²⁶ is not entirely clear; but since nudity among the upper classes is associated with youth, it is possible that this group statue depicts a young *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* with his first-born son. The second group statue might then represent an older *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* with another male child.

Of particular interest is the representation of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* and his sons in the fowling scene on the west wall of room II. There, a man, most probably a son, named *Jšff* stands next to *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s right foot with the titles *smr wṯtj* and *hrj-ḥbt*. Another son, possibly with the same name, whose figure and inscriptions have been deliberately erased, stood behind him. Facing *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* are offering bearers arranged in three superposed registers, which should be read from bottom upwards.²⁷ The first man in the lower register is described as 'his son', but the rest of his label and his figure have been erased. The first man in the middle register is designated 'his eldest son of his body, his beloved, the superintendent of the *ḥntj-š* officials of the palace, Ishfi'. This appears to be a representation of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* with all his sons, but there is no reason to identify any of the sons carrying the offerings with those standing before and behind their father.²⁸

The sons of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* are:

NAME

Jšff 'Ishfi'. He appears near the forward foot of his father on the west wall of room II, and receiving offering bearers in front of his father in the lower register on the west wall of room III, and as the first of two sons behind the father in the lower register on the east wall of room VI, where he is designated as *z3.f n ḥt.f smsw* 'his eldest son of his body'. It is also possible, but by no means certain, that he is the same as the undamaged son in the group statue with *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* on the south wall of room II. His titles of *smr wṯtj* and *hrj-ḥbt* shown in his father's chapel, and his apparent closeness to the latter may well suggest that he is the owner of the false door in room VII, adjoining his father's chapel, where he carries a second name *Twtw*²⁹ 'Tutu'.

TITLES

- 1- *jmj-r jṣw-r nswt* 'overseer of the king's breakfast'.
- 2- *jmj-r b3w n šḥmḥ-jb* 'overseer of the galley of recreation'.

²⁵ See also Eaton-Krauss, *Statuary*, 132 n.696.

²⁶ Ibid, 132; Junker, *Giza* 7, 40-41.

²⁷ This is suggested by the fact that the first step of fowling is depicted in the bottom register while the last step is shown in the register above it.

²⁸ As does Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 23-24. Sons are commonly shown presenting offerings to their father, but not to themselves.

²⁹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 379: 17.

- 3- *jmj-r prwj-hd* 'overseer of the two treasuries'.
- 4- *jmj-r zšwj* 'overseer of the two fowl pools'.
- 5- *jmj-r šhtj htp(t)* 'overseer of the two fields of offerings'.³⁰
- 6- *jmj-r sqbbwj (pr-ʿ)* 'overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace'.³¹
- 7- *jmj-r sđmt nbt* 'overseer of all hearings'.
- 9- *jmj-r šwj pr-ʿ* 'overseer of the two pools of the palace'.
- 9- *jmj-r šn t3 nb* 'overseer of all vegetation'.³²
- 10- *jmj-r šnwtj* 'overseer of the two granaries'.³³
- 11- *jmj-r djdjt pt qm3t (t3)*³⁴ 'overseer of that which heaven gives and earth produces'.
- 12- *hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nswt* 'privy to the secrets of all secret commands of the king'.
- 13- *hrj-sšt3 n pr dwt* 'privy to the secrets of the house of morning'.
- 14- *hrj-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt* 'privy to the secrets of the king in his every place'.
- 15- *hrj-hbt* 'lector priest'.
- 16- *smr wʿtj* 'sole companion'.

NAME

Jšfj 'Ishfi'. He is depicted carrying offerings of fowl opposite his father in the middle register on the west wall of room II, and may be the offering bearer, *Jšfj*, shown in the top register on the north thickness of the doorway III-IV. He is designated *z3.f smsw n ht.f mrjj.f* 'his eldest son of his body, his beloved'.

TITLES

- 1- *šld hntj(w)-š pr-ʿ* 'superintendent of the *hntj-š* officials of the palace'.
- 2- *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. If he is the same as *Jšfj* who is depicted on the doorway III-IV.

NAME

Jšfj 'Ishfi' (?). It seems possible that the son whose figure was erased as offering bearer in the bottom register on the west wall of room II is the same as the one whose figure was also chiselled out from the group statue with *ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr* on the south wall of the same room. The relative size of the sons in the group statues suggests that the one erased was the eldest. Similarly, if the bottom register was usually given precedence over others, as seems likely,³⁵ then placing the erased figure of the son in that register on the west wall may suggest that he was older than his brother shown in the register above, perhaps another eldest son of *ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr*.

³⁰ For the translation 'overseer of the offering of the two Sekhets' see Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 24. This translation is questioned by Fischer (*Ip*, 23:8).

³¹ For the reading of this title see Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 7, pl. 9, where *sqbbwj* is written phonetically.

³² The translation 'overseer of all hair of the earth' (ibid, 7) is unlikely since the title here terminates with the trees determinative.

³³ For a study of the office see Strudwick, *Administration*, 259ff.

³⁴ The sign for land is missing, but the trees determinative represents its production.

³⁵ See the place of different sons in Kanawati, *Chron. d'Ég.* 51 [1976], 235ff. For a clear example, Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 24, 34.

As each of the two above registers was headed by a *hntj-š* official, it is possible that this son held a similar position. One wonders if he was not the same *Jšff* whose tomb was in the near vicinity of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥ-Hr*'s and whose figures and inscriptions were also chiselled out on his false door.³⁶ The same *Jšff* may be the man whose figure was erased on the south wall of room III.

NAME

J[šff?] 'Ishfi?'. Designated *z3.f n [ht.f]* 'his son of [his body]', he is depicted behind his father on the west wall of room II and behind his brother on the east wall of room VI. In both cases he appears as a full younger brother of the *smr wḥtj Jšff* and in both cases his figure and inscriptions have been erased.

An examination of the representations of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥ-Hr*'s sons suggests that he had at least two, possibly three, sons designated as eldest, which may indicate that he was married more than once.³⁷ It appears that two, rather than one, of the sons had their figures and inscriptions chiselled out.

Brother of Ankhmahor

NAME

*Tmrw*³⁸ 'Tjemeru'.

TITLES

- 1- *jmj-r st hntj(w)-š pr-ḥ* 'overseer of the department of the *hntj-š* officials of the palace'.
- 2- *smr pr* 'companion of the house'.
- 3- *šḥd hntj(w)-š pr-ḥ* 'superintendent of the *hntj-š* officials of the palace'.
- 4- *špsj nswt* 'nobleman of the king'.³⁹

He appears on the west and south walls of room III, on the latter of which he is designated as: *sn.f mrjj.f* 'his brother, his beloved'.

Named Dependents of Ankhmahor

- 1- *Jpj*⁴⁰ 'Ipi'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. West wall, room II.
- 2- *Jr-n-3htj*⁴¹ 'Ir-en-akhti'. *šḥd zš(w) mrt* 'superintendent of scribes of the weavers'.⁴² West thickness, doorway III-IV.

³⁶ El-Khouli - Kanawati, *Saqqara* 2, 25-26, pls. 17-19. There, he is also described as a *hntj-š* official.

³⁷ For other examples of more than one eldest child see Kanawati, *Chron. d'Ég.* 51 [1976], 235.

³⁸ The name is unattested in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

³⁹ This common Sixth Dynasty title is usually combined with that of *smr pr* (Fischer, *Dendera*, 98-99).

⁴⁰ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 22:15.

⁴¹ Ibid, 39:24.

⁴² Badawy translates *mrt* as 'domain' (*ḥAnkhmḥahor*, 49).

- 3- *Jšfj* 'Ishfi'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North thickness, doorway III-V. He may be one of *ʿnh-m-ʿHr*'s sons (see above).
- 4- *ʿnh*⁴³ 'Ankh'. *swnw pr-ʿ3* 'physician of the palace'.⁴⁴ West wall, room II.
- 5- *ʿnh*⁴⁵ 'Ankhef'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North thickness, doorway, III-V.
- 6- *Prj*⁴⁶ 'Peri'. West wall, room II.
- 7- *Msj*⁴⁷ 'Mesi'. *zš wʿbt* 'scribe/painter of the workshop', *zš wʿbt rsjt* 'scribe/painter of the southern workshop', *zš pr md3t nʿr pr-ʿ3* 'scribe of the house of the sacred books of the palace'. South wall, room II and west wall, room III. He may be the same individual depicted in the mastaba of *Hntj-k3.j* in the same cemetery.⁴⁸
- 8- *Nfr-mnh*⁴⁹ 'Nefer-menkhet'. *smsw whrt* 'elder of the dockyard'.⁵⁰ South wall, room IV.
- 9- *Rdj.j*⁵¹ 'Redy'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North thickness, doorway III-V.
- 10- *Hpj*⁵² 'Hepi'. *shd hm(w)-k3* 'superintendent of the ka-servants'. West wall, room II and west thickness, doorway III-IV.
- 11- *Htp*⁵³ 'Hetep'. *shd sd3wtj(w)* 'superintendent of the seal-bearers'.⁵⁴ North wall, room IV.
- 12- *Z-n-bšj(?)* 'Senbeshi?'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. South wall, room VI.
- 13- *Zzj* 'Sesi'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North thickness, doorway III-V.
- 14- *Špsj-pw-Pth*⁵⁵ 'Shepsi-pu-Ptah'. *jrj nw* 'concerned with the hunt'.⁵⁶ South wall, room IV.
- 15- *Šps-s-Pth*⁵⁷ 'Shepses-Ptah'. *shd sd3wtj(w)* 'superintendent of the seal-bearers'. South wall, room VI.
- 16- *Twj*⁵⁸ 'Tewai'. *hrp zh* 'director of the food-hall'. North wall, room II.
- 17- *Ttj-ʿnh*⁵⁹ 'Teti-ankh'. *hrp zh* 'director of the food-hall'. North wall, room II.
- 18- *Ttj*⁶⁰ 'Tjeti'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North thickness, doorway III-V.
- 19- *...w* '...u'. *...st hntj-š* ... '... of the department of the *hntj-š* officials ...'. West wall, room II.
- 20- *... 3j* '...ai'. South wall, room IV.

43 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 62:19.

44 On the reading and responsibilities of this office see Ghalioungui, *Physicians*, 1ff.

45 The name is unattested in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

46 Ibid 1, 133:17.

47 Ibid, 165:7.

48 James, *Khentika*, 43, pl. 10.

49 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 196: 23.

50 Junker, *Giza* 7, 27; vol. 10, 183; Fischer, *Dendera*, 210-12.

51 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 228:12.

52 Ibid, 237:24.

53 Ibid, 257:22.

54 Junker, *Giza* 11, 147.

55 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 326:6.

56 Badawy, *ʿAnkhmʿahor*, 37.

57 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 326:19.

58 This is the only example listed by Ranke, but it is misread as *Twj* (ibid, 379:4); also Badawy, *ʿAnkhmʿahor*, 26.

59 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 384:15.

60 Ibid, 395:5.

Unnamed Dependents of Ankhmahor

The following individuals are referred to by their titles, but no names are given. Some of them, however, might be identical with the above named dependents.

- 1- *jmj-r jz* 'overseer of the workshop'. South wall, room II.
- 2- *jmj-r bdtj(w)* 'overseer of metal workers'.⁶¹ South wall, room II.
- 3- *[jmj]-r pr-šn* 'overseer of the storehouse'.⁶² North wall, room I.
- 4- *jmj-r mh(w)* 'overseer of fowlers'. West wall, room II and south thickness, doorway II-III.
- 5- *jmj-r hmwjtj(w)* 'overseer of craftsmen'.⁶³ South wall, room II.
- 6- *jmj-r sdwtj(w)-ntr* 'overseer of the seal-bearers of the god'. South wall, room VI.
- 7- *jmj-r qstj(w)* 'overseer of sculptors'.⁶⁴ South wall, room II.
- 8- *wt Jnpw* 'embalmer of Anubis'. South wall, room VI.
- 9- *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. West thickness, doorway III-IV and east thickness, doorway I-VI.
- 10- *hmwtj* 'craftsman'. South wall, room II.
- 11- *hrp nr(w)* 'director of herdsmen'. East wall, room I and south and north thicknesses, doorway II-III.
- 12- *hrj-hbt* 'lector priest'. South wall, room VI.
- 13- *zš* 'scribe/painter'. South wall, room II.
- 14- *zš z3* 'scribe of the phyle'. West thickness, doorway III-IV.
- 15- *smsw whrt* 'elder of the dockyard'.
- 16- *shd hm(w)-k3* 'superintendent of the ka-servants'. East thickness, doorway III-IV.
- 17- *shd hm(w)-k3 n jmj-wrt* 'superintendent of the ka-servants of the starboard phyle'.⁶⁵ East thickness, doorway III-IV.
- 18- *drjt* 'mourner'.⁶⁶ South wall, room VI.

Name of a Monkey

Mr-rdj.s 'Mer-redis', which means 'the love she gives'. North wall, room II.

⁶¹ Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 38ff.

⁶² Fischer, *Dendera*, 121-23, 168.

⁶³ Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 75.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 62.

⁶⁵ Montet, *Vie privée*, 350ff., 395-96.

⁶⁶ Fischer, *Varia*, 45ff.

II DATING OF ANKHEMAHOR

The suggested dates of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* range from the middle of Teti's reign to the reign of Pepy I.⁶⁷ He built his tomb in the existing space between the mastabas of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ* and *Nfr-sšm-Pth* in the so-called 'rue de tombeaux' and used the north wall of the former and the south wall of the latter as common walls, reducing his own exterior walls to the east, west and part of the north walls. The suggestion that the mastabas of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* and *Nfr-sšm-Pth* were constructed as 'a single building project'⁶⁸ is not unreasonable, but is impossible to examine as the join between the two chapels, i.e., the eastern section of the mastabas, is now concealed by modern restoration. The remaining part of the joint wall, built of mud brick, almost certainly belonged to *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, with *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* extending it further west, in stone, in order to bring his west wall in line with that of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ*. This would suggest that *Nfr-sšm-Pth* was at least the first to complete his mastaba, even if his chapel and that of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* were carried out as 'a single building project'. It is interesting that, like the earlier mastabas in the Teti Cemetery of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ* and *K3-gm-n.j*, the mastaba of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* is square in shape,⁶⁹ while that of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* is rectangular as are those of *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Hntj-k3.j*⁷⁰ and *Jnw-Mnw*,⁷¹ all dated to late Teti-Pepy I.

That the chapel of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* was extended during Pepy I's reign⁷² should not affect the dating of that of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* in whose tomb there is no mention of this king.

III ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Pls. 31, 31

The mastaba of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* was constructed to fit precisely between the tombs of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ* and *Nfr-sšm-Pth* on the western side of the street called 'rue du tombeaux'. The façades of all three tombs have a batter of 3° and form a continuous wall aligned N-S, although the dressed limestone blocks of each are different in size and finish. The join between the tombs of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* and *Nfr-sšm-Pth* is bonded only in the bottom course; however, a New Kingdom stone and mud brick structure built partly above the northern part of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ*'s façade has prevented clearing the section of the street where his tomb abuts that of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr*.

⁶⁷ Teti (Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 153 and passim), mid-Teti (Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 152 [60]), mid-late Teti (Strudwick, *Administration*, 75 [30]), late Teti or early Pepy I (Harpur, *Decoration*, 273 [374]) and Pepy I (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 64 [94]).

⁶⁸ Editorial foreword, *JEA* 66 [1980], 2.

⁶⁹ Personal examination of the limits of this mastaba and its connection with that of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr*.

⁷⁰ For the general shape of the main mastabas in the area see Porter - Moss, *Bibliography* 3:2, pls. 52ff.

⁷¹ A vizier of Pepy I recently discovered in the Teti cemetery by the joint Australian-Egyptian expedition.

⁷² Strudwick, *Administration*, 111.

The façade of *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr* south of the entrance consists of two parallel walls of stone blocks, the space between filled with stone chips and rubble.⁷³ The thickness of this section of the façade is nearly 2.00m. compared to that north of the entrance which is slightly less than 1.00m., as are most of the internal walls of the superstructure. It is clear that *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr* did not himself build a south perimeter wall but used the dressed limestone blocks of the already constructed sloping north wall of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ*. The west wall, like the façade composed of two parallel rows of limestone blocks with a fill between, follows the same line and the same slope of 3° as the west wall of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ*. The west end of the north wall is also constructed of stone blocks for a length of 2.90m. at which point it meets the south wall of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*. This wall is built of brick, plastered on both sides, in the western part and of limestone blocks, incompletely preserved, in the eastern part where rooms of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*'s chapel are located. The largely reconstructed north wall of room VI in *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr*'s mastaba abuts the south wall of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*'s,⁷⁴ but it is uncertain whether these close contemporaries built simultaneously or if one began construction slightly earlier than the other.

The overall dimensions of *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr*'s mastaba are 17.35m. N-S x 26.20m. E-W. Nothing remains of the roof and its original level is unknown, but was probably not much different from the present reconstructed height of 3.70m. above the ground surface at 53.8m. above mean sea level. The roof rebuilt over rooms I-VI and the present height of most of the original western perimeter wall both have a survey height of 57.4-5m. above mean sea level, which is comparable to that of 57.53m. recorded for the roofing slabs still *in situ* above the serdab of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ*. A few original stone blocks remaining at the SW corner of *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr*'s mastaba have a survey height of 58.15m. and others near the SE corner of *Nfr-sšm-Rḥ* of 58.10m. It is quite possible that a higher course of stone formed a parapet *ca.* .60m. high around the perimeter of each tomb's roof. The western half of the mastaba has a core of sand, chips and rough stones. In the southern part of the core are a number of intersecting retaining walls of undressed stone, irregular in shape but generally flat and rectangular, mortared with Nile mud plaster and stone chips.⁷⁵ Presumably these were constructed to relieve the pressure of the fill against the structural walls, especially those of the burial shafts built above the ground rock level.

The eastern part of the mastaba is occupied by five chambers and two larger pillared halls (rooms VI and VII) constructed of good quality and well-cut limestone blocks. The lower courses of stone forming the chapel are well preserved and enable accurate dimensions to be established for all rooms other than the west walls of rooms IV and VI where no lines are visible. A comparison of the architectural drawing published by Loret in 1899⁷⁶ with that of Badawy in 1978⁷⁷ would indicate that the reconstruction of these walls early in this century did not exactly

⁷³ See Arnold, *Building*, 148, fig. 4.72:3.

⁷⁴ Loret, *BIE* 10 (1899), map following p. 100. The wall thickness indicated by Loret might suggest that the tombs shared a common wall.

⁷⁵ It was not practical to excavate deeply in all the core, therefore it is uncertain whether other walls exist elsewhere in the fill.

⁷⁶ *BIE* 10 (1899), map following p. 100. See also Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 7; Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 51.

⁷⁷ *ḤAnkhmahor*, fig. 1.

follow the original plan. In the present volume the west walls of the chapel are drawn only where something of the original stone courses can still be seen; dotted lines, based on the plan of Loret, are used where the walls have disappeared. The floor surfaces are largely modern and all heights given within the tomb are based on present levels. The limestone entrance threshold and a step up in the doorway to room V can still be seen, but the original ground rock floor is preserved only in room VII. All walls have sustained some damage in the upper parts and, although that between rooms III and V stands to a height of 2.25m., part of the west wall of room VII to 2.50m., and pillar 5 in room VI to 2.70m., no accurate measurements of original room heights can be provided. Every room in the chapel retains some portion, primarily in the lower registers, of decoration in raised relief. Little colour is now preserved but probably all reliefs were painted.

The entrance to the mastaba, slightly north of the centre of the façade, has a recess 3.30m. wide x .15m. deep. The doorway itself, constructed of monolithic sandstone blocks and a limestone threshold, is .70m. wide x .40m. thick and is preserved to a height of 2.27m. on the south thickness. The upper part of the entrance has been reconstructed and there is no extant evidence of a drum or lintel. The doorway leads into a small vestibule area, 1.10m. N-S x .95m. E-W, which is defined by an internal recess 1.50m. wide x .45m. deep. It is apparent from the rough face of the south side of the recess, and from a part missing from the scenes at the north end of the east wall of room I, that a small section of this wall has been removed or destroyed. In the north side of the recess is a hole for a door bolt to secure the main entrance. Cut at a height of .74m. above the floor level, it measures .11m. in diameter and .185m. deep. Comparable, but smaller, holes found on the door recesses leading to rooms VI and VII presumably served a similar purpose. This entry area opens into the north end of the east wall of room I which measures 4.05m. N-S x 2.15m. E-W and has a doorway in each of the three other walls.

At the south end of the west wall a doorway with a step up of .035m. measures .70m. wide x .75m. thick on the south side and .65m. on the north. From an internal recess 1.10m. wide x .15m. deep at the south side and .25m. deep on the north, it opens into room II which is 3.80m. N-S x 1.70m. E-W. At the north end of the west wall of room II is a doorway .75m. wide x .75m. thick. From this doorway a step down of .14m. to an internal recess, 1.10m. wide x .20m. deep, leads to room III which measures 2.85m. N-S x 2.15m. E-W.

Another doorway in room III, at the east end of the south wall, is .75m. wide x .80m. thick. From this a step down of .19m. to a recess 1.05m. wide x .175m. deep gives access to room IV, the offering chamber. It measures 2.55m. N-S and has a probable length E-W of 6.25m. The present irregularly shaped room is a result of the reconstruction of the entire west wall and part of the north in modern times.⁷⁸ Loret reported that a false door in the west wall was already missing at the time of his excavations,⁷⁹ and Capart's later investigations found neither the false door nor an L-shaped offering bench included in Loret's plan.⁸⁰ There is no reason to doubt Loret's drawing of a rectangular room, a more usual shape for the offering

⁷⁸ The reconstructed walls give dimensions of 2.55m. N-S on the east wall and 1.875m. on the west x 5.60m. E-W.

⁷⁹ *BIE* 10 [1899], 89.

⁸⁰ *Rue de tombeaux*, 45.

chamber, with an offering bench constructed of stone in front of a large false door in the west wall and extending along the north wall. The stone remaining at floor level along the west wall and the western end of the north wall is unlikely to be part of these walls but, rather, of the offering bench, now almost totally obscured by the reconstruction. Visible at the eastern end of the rebuilt part of the north wall at a height of .40m. is the broken edge of a stone slab with a cavetto cornice and torus moulding at the top which measures .30m. N-S and projects .08m. from the reconstructed wall. Lines preserved at the floor indicate that the bench was probably .70m. N-S x 1.55m. E-W. The height and depth of the offering bench in front of the false door remain unknown. It is uncertain whether the bench along the north wall was an extension of the offering table in front of the false door, as in the tomb of *K3.j-ḥpr(w)*,⁸¹ or a separate bench, as found in the neighbouring tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*⁸² and illustrated in the proposed reconstruction of Badawy.⁸³ Elsewhere at Saqqara are examples of a separate bench along the north wall of the offering chapel with a cavetto cornice and torus moulding above a horizontal line of inscriptions.⁸⁴

In room III a third doorway at the south end of the west wall reached by a step up of .10m. is .70m. wide x .65m. thick on the south side and .75m. thick on the north. A hole cut into the south door thickness just below the dado, .08m. high x .05m. wide x .09m. deep, may have been for a door bolt. The doorway, defined internally by a recess 1.00m. wide x .25m. deep on the south and .15m. deep on the north, opens into room V. This chamber has present dimensions of 3.05m. N-S x 2.05m. E-W.

At the west end of the north wall of room I is an entrance recess 1.25m. wide x .22m. deep. Into the east wall of the recess at a height of .91m. above the floor is cut a hole, .10m. high x .08m. wide x .10m. deep, to house a door bolt. From the recess a step up of .08m. leads to a doorway .75m. wide x .60m. on the east thickness and .55m. on the west thickness. This gives access to a large pillared hall (room VI) which has been extensively reconstructed in the western part where very little remains of the north and south walls and nothing is visible of the original west wall. However, like the offering chamber (room IV), it seems most probable that this pillared hall was rectangular with a straight N-S west wall as indicated on Loret's plan. The main part of the hall measures 4.45m. N-S and has a probable E-W length of 9.75m.⁸⁵ The eastern section of the room, 3.90m. N-S x 2.05m. E-W on the south wall and 2.10m. on north, is separated from the rest of the hall by two engaged pillars which are .50m. E-W x .12m. N-S at the south wall and .10m. at the north wall, and by a central free-standing pillar which is .50m. square. This pillar (1), broken above a height of 1.35m., is the easternmost of an east-west row of five free-standing pillars, none preserved to its full height. Each rests on a

⁸¹ Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pl. 47.

⁸² Personal examination. This detail is neither mentioned nor illustrated in Capart's publication (see *Rue de tombeaux*, 72, pl. 94).

⁸³ *ḤAnkhmḥahor*, pl. 60.

⁸⁴ von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pls. 1-2; Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, pl.41; vol. 2, 45, pls. 34-35; James, *Khentika*, pl. 18.

⁸⁵ The overall measurements of the reconstructed chamber are 3.90m. N-S at the east wall and 4.45m. at the west wall x 11.85m. E-W along the south wall and 12.45m. along the north wall.

square base .07m. high which projects .10m. from each face of the pillar. Pillar 1 is axial to the eastern 'alcove', but the remaining four are neither axial to the body of the hall, equidistant from each other nor of the same dimensions. The northern aisle is 2.15m. N-S and the southern is 1.80m. The distance between pillars 1 and 2 is 1.60m., between pillars 2 and 3 1.80m., and between pillars 3 and 4, 4 and 5 and 5 to the west wall 1.50m. Pillar 2 is .50m. N-S x .45m. E-W x .57m. high, pillar 3 is .50m. N-S x .40m. E-W x .57m. high and pillar 4 is .50m. N-S x .45m. E-W x .51m. high. Pillar 5, at the western end measures .55m. N-S x .40m. E-W and remains standing to 2.70m., almost the full original height.⁸⁶

At the northern end of the west wall an opening .88m. wide leads westward to a flight of stairs, now blocked by reconstruction, which presumably gave access to the roof. Preserved are two stairs, each with a tread of .25m. and a rise of .10m., and a small section of the stone walls on either side. Further details of the stairway remain unknown. It is likely, although not included on Loret's plan, that there were jambs for a door to secure the tomb, as is the case in the nearby mastabas of *Nfr-sšm-Rʕ*, *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j*.⁸⁷

Badawy's proposal that room VI is actually an open court with the pillars defining a portico along the southern side and an alcove at the eastern end, both roofed,⁸⁸ is not without merit. His arguments are based on the unequal widths of the two aisles created by the pillars and on the use of sunk relief on the west face of the north engaged pillar, like all the free-standing pillars, in contrast to the decoration in raised relief on the west face of the south engaged pillar and on the south and alcove walls. A few other courtyard porticos are known at Saqqara,⁸⁹ and a new example in the Teti cemetery occurs in the recently discovered tomb of *Jnw-Mnw*.⁹⁰

A doorway at the east end of the south wall of room I, blocked with stones since early in this century,⁹¹ is .70m. wide x .70m. thick and defined on the south by a recess 1.10m. wide x .20m. deep. A hole for a door bolt cut into the west side of

⁸⁶ Badawy gives a different height for pillar 5 and suggests that the ceiling of room VI was probably about 2.80m. high (*ʕAnkhmʕahor*, 46). It is more likely that the pillars themselves stood to ca. 2.80m. and the addition of an architrave ca. .30m. high would result in a ceiling about 3.10m. high. If one allows for a thickness of ca. .55m. for the roofing slabs (as measured for the roofing slabs *in situ* over *Nfr-sšm Rʕ*'s serdab) an overall height is obtained for the mastaba of 3.65m., very close to the 3.70m. provided by recent survey heights of floor and roof levels.

⁸⁷ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 51; for the stairway in the chapel of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s wife see Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 1.

⁸⁸ *ʕAnkhmʕahor*, 12, 41, pl. 19. This feature differs from the roofed halls with axial and evenly spaced rows of columns as in room VII and in the nearby tombs of *Nfr-sšm-Rʕ*, *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j* (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 51).

⁸⁹ For example, the peristyle portico of *Tjj* (Épron, *Ti* 1, pl. 1), and the entrance porticos in the court of the dual tomb of *Pth-ḥtp* and *Pth-ḥtp/Dšr* (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 35). A closer parallel is the portico along the west wall of the court in the mastaba of *Mḥw* (personal examination). One wonders if the pillared chamber of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s wife, with two pillars off centre and a stairway leading to the roof (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 1), might not also have been an open court with a pillared portico on the west.

⁹⁰ To be published by A.C.E.

⁹¹ Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, 62. This presumably was done at the time of restoration to secure the tomb.

the recess at a height of .91m. above the floor is .05m. wide x .07m. high x .07m. deep. The door leads to a pillared room in which is found the false door of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s son *Jšfj*. Now unroofed and giving the appearance of a courtyard, room VII measures 6.60m. N-S x 4.90m. E-W. Two N-S rows of pillars are each composed of two free-standing and one engaged pillar, all broken in the upper part and preserved to an average height of 2.40m. The two free-standing pillars in the eastern row are .50m. E-W; that on the north has a N-S measurement of .60m. and that on the south of .50m. In the western row, the north pillar is .55m. square and the south .55m. E-W x .45m. N-S. The engaged pillars measure .55m. E-W x .40m. N-S at the base and .43m. in the upper part. Their back sides have been cut at a slight angle to abut the south wall, formed by the sloping external north wall of *Nfr-sšm-R*'s mastaba. This wall is still preserved in part to its original height of 4.10m., and the engaged pillars were required at this end of the room to bear the architrave supporting the stone ceiling of room VII, which probably had a height of approximately 3.10m., as suggested above for room VI. The other three walls retain at least two courses of large, smoothed limestone blocks with the highest point, just over 2.50m., at the south end of the west wall.

Remnants of a hard and coarse creamy-pink plaster remain on all wall and pillar surfaces, but there is no evidence of decoration, other than signs of pale red paint on the entrance recess, as found elsewhere in the tomb, and the partially inscribed false door in the west wall. Formed of a monolith 2.10m. high, the false door has a torus moulding, cavetto cornice, two pairs of jambs, and rests on a stone platform 1.27 m. wide x .41m. high x .31m. deep. The door dimensions are: cavetto cornice 1.27m. x .25m. high, torus moulding .075m. thick, upper lintel .95m. x .21m. high, middle lintel .50m. x .15m. high, central panel .42m. x .27m. high with side apertures .035m. and .045m. in width, lower lintel .50m. x .125m. high, outer jambs .22m. x 1.80m. high, inner jambs .175m. x 1.03m. high, drum .14m. x .175m. high, central niche .14m. x .89m. high.

Along the north wall at a height of *ca.* 1.00m. are cut 11 shallow, evenly-spaced holes .05m. (av.) square. Other holes, similar but not uniform in dimensions or wall placement, are found at each end of the west wall at a higher level. The purpose of these cuts is not known. At the northern end of this room, just west of the doorway, are the remains of a later mud brick wall recorded on Loret's plan. It extends 1.10m. to the south from the north wall, has a present E-W length of 1.30m. and stands to a height of .75m.

Curiously, a number of small holes were cut through the angles of several walls, possibly in order to attach or secure something in place. While their purpose remains uncertain, it is possible that these provided a hitch for tethering animals.⁹² In room III a hole .03m. wide x .06m. high is cut from the west wall through to the south thickness of the doorway to room V, .04m. each side of the corner and .63m. above the threshold. A similar hole passes between the south wall of room I and the west thickness of the door leading to room VII. Cut at .20m. above the floor and .04m. each side of the corner, it has a diameter of .04m. and is plastered. A

⁹² Firth suggests that similar holes in the pillars of *K3-gm-n.j*'s hall may have been to tie mats or garlands (*Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 21), but two of the examples in *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s tomb would seem to be too close to the floor for that purpose.

third example is found on the NE corner of the west engaged pillar in room VII at a height of 1.55m. above the floor.

IV BURIAL APARTMENTS

Pl. 32

The shafts leading to the burial apartments of both *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* and his son *Jšff* are located in the core of the mastaba directly west of their respective offering chambers. Other, later shafts within the perimeters of the mastaba were not excavated to avoid undermining the structural walls. Loret recorded a shaft in the floor of room I and another in room VI (Nos. 68 and 70), and a third (No. 69) cut into the façade wall north of the entrance.⁹³ At the SE corner a similar shaft lies within the double wall of the façade of the mastaba, and one constructed at the NW corner of the fill is lined with large blocks of limestone. Loret's No. 71, located to the west of shaft 1, has broken into the NW corner of *Jšff*'s burial chamber. The cutting of another later burial apartment, whose mouth was not investigated, has resulted in a large break in the east wall of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s shaft at a depth in the rock of just over 6.00m.

1. Directly behind the false door of *Jšff* in room VII is a shaft with a mouth 1.85m. E-W x 1.90m. N-S. Its walls above ground rock level are .70m. thick and built of pieces of stone mortared with mud. Reasonably well cut, with footholds in the west wall, the shaft narrows as it descends through rock for 6.65m. Interestingly, it stops just short of 47.00m. above mean sea level, the point in the stratum where a change to harder rock is recorded in shaft 2. The floor of the shaft measures 1.80m. E-W on the north wall and 1.35 on the south wall x 1.90m. N-S. The east wall was cut away to a height of 1.65m. and from this opening a step down of .15m. leads to the burial chamber.

Oriented N-S with the eastern part lying beneath *Jšff*'s false door, the chamber is 4.15m. N-S x 1.85m. E-W x 1.80m. high. The SW corner is cut at an obtuse angle and at the north end of the west wall is a niche which is .80m. wide x .80m. deep x .70m. high. This niche, probably to house the canopic jars, is almost completely obscured by sand which spills down through a break in its ceiling from Loret's shaft No. 71. A large recess in the east wall, with uneven surfaces and soft corners, presumably housed the burial. It measures 2.35m. long x .95m. deep x 1.45m. high and is cut at a height .15m. above the chamber floor. In front of the recess a small section of the floor was not completely cut and remains at a height of .15m. above the rest of the chamber. Following the interment, the entrance to the burial chamber was sealed with a wall constructed of mud brick and mud-plaster mortar. There are remains of a white wash on the internal side but no evidence of any decoration in the chamber which was found plundered and empty of finds.

⁹³ *BIE* 10, (1899), map following p. 100.

2. The main shaft leading to the burial chamber of *ʿnh-m-ʿHr* is positioned directly behind the west wall of room IV. It has a mouth 2.80m. square with constructed walls above ground rock averaging 1.50m. in thickness. The south, west and north walls are built of mud brick and the east wall, adjacent to the west wall of the offering chapel, of pieces of stone. Footholds are cut into the native rock at regular intervals in the east wall. Narrowing as it descends through the softer upper stratum into a harder formation, the shaft has a present depth in the rock of 17.5m. (36.3m. above mean sea level),⁹⁴ where the floor has dimensions of 1.80m. E-W x 2.45m. N-S. In all probability, the shaft originally was excavated to a depth of 18.4m. and the entire west wall cut away to a height of 2.40m. From this opening the burial chamber was cut to the west, rather than to the east to lie under the false door as might be expected.

The chamber is irregular in shape, measuring 6.20m. N-S x 2.40m. E-W at the north wall and 2.15m. at the south wall. The unsmoothed surfaces of the floor and the ceiling are neither level nor exactly parallel, and the height of the chamber varies considerably from 2.10m. at the northern end to 2.45m. at the southern, with an average of 2.25m. A niche, possibly to house canopic jars,⁹⁵ at the western end of the south wall has a sill height of 1.40m. and measures .80m. wide x .85m. deep x .72m. high. Along the west wall a large recess, 4.30m. N-S x 2.25m. E-W is occupied in the eastern half by the large sarcophagus, and in the western half by a shelf with a sill height of 1.00m., a depth of 1.15m. and a height of 1.35m.⁹⁶ The small niche in the south wall was given a coat of plaster but the large roughly cut recess, hidden behind the sarcophagus, was left unfinished.

Cut in rock of poor quality, there is evidence of repairs made at the time of construction with a hard pink plaster. None of the walls of the burial chamber were smoothed, but are faced with large limestone slabs .20m. thick which were mortared and repaired, where necessary, with a hard white plaster.⁹⁷ The interior surfaces of the lining slabs are rough but the exterior faces were smoothed and plastered, then decorated in shallow incised relief and painted. After the massive sarcophagus was installed, the opening between the shaft and the burial chamber was closed by a wall constructed of similar limestone blocks and, like the lining slabs, also decorated. This wall was built the full height, 2.40m., of the opening, leaving only a small doorway at the north end .90m. above the chamber floor. The doorway, .75m. wide x .78m. high, was later sealed from the outside by a large rectangular block of limestone which was found lying at the bottom of the shaft. Although quite well preserved, some

⁹⁴ The previously estimated depth of 23.00m. from the terrace of the superstructure (Badawy, *ʿAnkhmahor*, p. 43; similarly Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, fig. 9) is close to the recent survey levels which suggest a total depth of 21.2m to the floor of the shaft and 22.1 to the floor of the burial chamber.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 17.

⁹⁶ A similar feature is found in the burial chambers of *Ndt-m-pt* (Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pl. 37), *Nfr-sšm-Rʿ* (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, fig. 12) and *K3-gm-n.j* (ibid, fig. 15). Firth has suggested that this shelf was to hold the lid until such time as the sarcophagus was covered and sealed (ibid, 16).

⁹⁷ The burial chambers of other major tombs in the Teti Cemetery are similarly lined with decorated limestone slabs (ibid, figs. 15, 19; James, *Khentika*, 32-33).

sections of the stone lining have, over time, become unstable. Most of the top course of the east wall above the ramp had fallen into the burial chamber, as had also several other blocks from the southern part of the same wall and from the west wall adjacent to the sarcophagus.

After the construction of the east wall of the burial chamber with a doorway at a higher level, the floor of the shaft was raised .90m. by filling it with compact stone chips to the threshold of the doorway. In the burial chamber a stone ramp was built from the doorway descending towards the sarcophagus. The ramp is 1.60m. (av.) E-W x 2.40m. N-S and slopes downward at an angle of 20° from the entrance to meet the east side of the sarcophagus at a height of .50m. above the floor.

The sarcophagus, fitting snugly between the shelf and the ramp, is formed of two monolithic pieces of white limestone, one for the chest and another for the lid, quite well shaped but not smoothly finished. The east and north sides of the chest have incised decoration on both the outside and inside and the east side of the lid is inscribed. The chest measures 3.55m. long x 1.55m. wide x 1.50m. high, with internal dimensions of 2.75m. x .62m. x .65m. deep. Still sealed in place with plaster, the lid is .63m. high. The burial had been robbed through a hole cut in both the lid and the chest at the north end of the east side. The few finds recovered from the burial chamber when it was first cleared, including part of an alabaster headrest with the name of *ḥm-m-ḥr*, were published by Firth and Gunn⁹⁸ and are reprinted as an Appendix at the end of this volume.

V SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

Façade

Pl. 33

The façade, like the internal walls of the chapel, is constructed of large blocks of limestone, well shaped and joined. The doorway is formed of two monolithic blocks of sandstone which must have supported a lintel, now missing. All figures and inscriptions on the entrance and façade are executed in sunken relief with modelling. However, the decoration on the sandstone blocks of the jambs and door thicknesses is shallower and contains less internal details.

At the extreme north end of the façade, near the junction with the mastaba of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, is a standing figure in sunk relief of a man facing left, presumably *ḥm-m-ḥr* himself. He wears a short kilt, necklace and bracelets and holds a staff and a sceptre.

⁹⁸ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 18, figs. 10-11; vol. 2, pls. 13:D, 14:2.

Entrance Recess

Each side of the entrance recess is composed of two parts, with the door jambs built of sandstone and the remaining part, like the rest of the mastaba, constructed in limestone.

NORTH SIDE

Pls. 1, 34

North End of Recess: Facing left towards the tomb entrance, *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* sits on a chair with low, cushioned back. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar, bracelets and a tight kilt. With one hand he invokes⁹⁹ while holding the sceptre in the other. The gesture may indicate an invitation to the passer-by to enter the tomb and perhaps present him with offerings or simply remember and mention him. Eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs above and in front of the figure read:¹⁰⁰ (1) ... [*imj-r k3t*] *nbt nt nswt m t3 r ḏr.f ḥnḥ-m-ḥr rn.f nfr Zzj ḏḏ[.f]* (2) ... [*j]w.tj.fj r jz pn r jrt n(.j) ḥt 3ḥ(t) ḥft zš pf št3 n ḥmt ḥrj-ḥbt* (3) ... *nswt rn.f šḏ n(.j) s3ḥw ḥpr(.j)* (4) ... *ḥpr šḏ n(.j) s3ḥw* (5) ... *m bw mnḥ n rh.tn* (6) ... [*n*] *zp ḏḏ(.j) ḥt nb(t) ḏw(t) n nswt* (7) ... [*h*] *r ntr jw jgr šḏ.n(.j)* (8) ... *mr(.j) nfr rn(.j) ḥr ntr ḥr rmt* '(1) ..., the overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi. He says: (2) ... who will come to this tomb to do a beneficial thing for me in accordance with that secret writings of the craft of the lector priest, (3) ... the king ... his name, is he who reads recitations for me.¹⁰¹ I am equipped (4) ... equipped is he who reads recitations for me. (5) ... as well as you can.¹⁰² (6) ... [never] did I say any evil thing to the king¹⁰³ (7) ... the god. Furthermore, I recited¹⁰⁴ (8) ... (for) I wanted my name to be good before god and before people'.

North Jamb: *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* is shown standing with empty hands at his side and wearing a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar and a projecting kilt. The figure is accompanied by six vertical (1-6) and two horizontal (7-8) lines of text. (1) *šḏ ḥm(w)-ntr [ḏḏ-swt-Ttj] jmj-r k3t nb(t) nt nswt ḥnḥ-m-ḥr¹⁰⁵ rn.f nfr Zzj* (2) *ḥntj-š [ḏḏ-swt-Ttj] ḥrj-tp nswt* (3) [*imj-r sḏmt nb]t št3(t) jmj-r zšwj m3* (4) ... *nb jmj* ... (5) ... *ḥrj-sšt3 n wḏt-mḏw nbt* (6) ... [*imj-r*] *š[n] t3 nb* (7) *jm3ḥw ḥr Jnpw tpj ḏw.f* (8) *ḥrj-tp nswt mḏw Rhjt Zzj* '(1) The superintendent of priests of the pyramid: [One steadfast of places is Teti], the overseer of all the works of the king, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi, (2) the *ḥntj-š* official of the pyramid:

⁹⁹ For this posture see Harpur, *Decoration*, 129-30; *LÄ* 2, 573-85.



¹⁰⁰ See also Sethe's amendment of the text (*Urk.* 1, 202-203).

¹⁰¹ Alternatively it may be an imperative, 'read recitations for me' (Edel, *Phraseologie*, 76).

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ The usual statement is 'never did I say any evil thing against any man to a potentate' - *šḥm jr.f* (for example, Sethe, *Urk.* 1, 123:1, 201:5). However, as a vizier *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* reported directly to the king. See also *K3-gm-n.j* (ibid, 195:9). It is interesting that in a similar statement *Nḥbw* says 'never did I say any evil thing to the king or a potentate against any person' (ibid, 217:11).

¹⁰⁴ *šḏ* can have other meanings, but with the remainder of the sentence missing the exact meaning is uncertain.

¹⁰⁵ *Hr* here is written as  and not  as usual.

[One steadfast of places is Teti], the royal chamberlain, (3) the [overseer of all] the secret [hearings], the true overseer of the two fowl pools, (4) ... all ... who is in ..., (5) ..., he who is privy to the secrets of all commands, (6) ..., [the overseer] of all vegetation, (7) the honoured one before Anubis, who is on his hill, (8) the royal chamberlain, the staff of the Rekhyt-people, Sesi'.

SOUTH SIDE







Pls. 2, 35

South End of Recess: *ḥm-m-ḥr* is portrayed wearing a short, tightly curled wig, a broad collar, bracelets and a stiffened skirt and sits on a chair with lion's legs and cushioned back. He faces the entrance to the tomb and holds the staff in his left hand while invoking with his right. Eight columns of hieroglyphs above and before him read:¹⁰⁶ (1) [*jmj-r kst*] *nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f hrj-tp nswt jmj-r ḥwt-wrt mdḥ zš nswt ḥm-m-ḥr rn.f nfr Zzj dd.f*¹⁰⁷ (2) [*nfr n.tn*] *jmjw-ḥt wd3 n.tn [tp]jw-ḥ jr ḥt nbt jrt.tn r jz pn (n) ḥrt-ntr* (3) [*wnn jr(w) mjt*]¹⁰⁸ *r jšt.tn jnk hrj-ḥbt jqr rh [ḥ]t*¹⁰⁹ *n zp št3 ḥk3 nb jr(.j) jqr* (4) [*jr rmt*] *nb ḥq.tj.sn r jz pn m ḥbw.sn wnm.sn bwt* (5) *bwjyt*¹¹⁰ *n 3ḥ jqr n wḥb.sn n(.j) mj wḥb.sn n 3ḥ jqr jrr ḥzzt nb.f* (6) [*jw(.j) r jtt ts*]¹¹¹ *mj 3pd wdjj(w)*¹¹² *snḏ(.j) jm.f r m33 3ḥw tpjw t3 snḏ.sn n 3ḥ jqr* (7) [*jw.j r wd*]¹¹³ *ḥnḥ.f m 3ḏ3t tf špst nt ntr 3 jr swt s nb ḥq.tj.fj* (8) [*r jz pn*] *wḥb(w) ḥtp hr.f jw(.j) r wnn m ḥ3j.f m ḥrt-ntr m 3ḏ3t nt ntr 3* '(1) The overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, the master architect of the king, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi. He says: (2) May it be well for you, descendants, may it be prosperous for you, predecessors. As for anything which you may do against this tomb of the necropolis (3) the like will be done against your property (i.e. tomb).¹¹⁴ I was an excellent lector priest, who was learned. Never was any trustworthy magic hidden from me. (4) As for all people who will enter into this tomb in their state of impurity, having eaten abominations (5) which are detested for an excellent spirit, and have not purified themselves for me as they should purify themselves for an excellent spirit who does what his lord praises, (6) I will seize his neck like a bird (when) the fear of me is cast in him, so that the spirits and those who are upon earth may see (it) and may fear an excellent spirit. (7) I will enter into judgement with him in that noble council of the great god. But as for any man who will enter

¹⁰⁶ See Sethe's amendment of the text (*Urk. 1*, 201-202). For earlier translations see Gardiner - Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, 10; Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 14. For grammatical commentary see Edel, *Phraseologie*, passim.

¹⁰⁷ *dd.f* is written in front of the tomb owner's face and probably refers to the speech inscribed above him.

¹⁰⁸ Edel, *Phraseologie*, 18.

¹⁰⁹ Edel's restoration to   (ibid, 26) does not take into consideration the definite  after . The remaining space and the damaged surface allow for . Sethe's  (Urk. 1, 202:2) is also unlikely.

¹¹⁰ Edel's restoration of *bwjyt*, which he takes to be an imperfective passive participle, certainly agrees with the surviving signs (*Phraseologie*, 6-7).

¹¹¹ Ibid, 13-14.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid, 9.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 18-19.

(8) into this tomb being pure and offer in it, I will be his backer in the necropolis¹¹⁵ and in the council of the great god'.

South Jamb: The figure of the tomb owner is identical to that depicted on the north jamb and is accompanied by similar inscriptions. (1) [shd] hm(w)-ntr dd-swt-Ttj jmj-r k3t nb(t) nt nswt ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr rn.f nfr Zzj (2) hntj-š dd-swt-Ttj hrj-tp nswt (3) [jmj-r] zš(w) ʿ nswt ... jmj-r zšwj (4) [hrj]-sš3 n wdt-mdw nbt š3(t) nt nswt (5) [jwn] Knmwt [hm-ntr] M3t ... jmj-r šn t3 nb (6) ... m mrrt.f (7) jm3hw hr Jnpw tpj dw.f (8) hrj-tp nswt mdw Rhjt Z[z]j '(1) [The superintendent] of priests of the pyramid: One steadfast of places [is Teti], the overseer of all the works of the king, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi, (2) the hntj-š official of the pyramid: One steadfast of places [is Teti], the royal chamberlain, (3) [the overseer] of the scribes of the king's documents, ... the overseer of the two fowl pools, (4) he who is privy to the secrets of all secret commands of the king, (5) [the pillar] of the Kenmut, [the priest] of Maat, ..., the overseer of all vegetation, (6) ... with what he loves (7) the honoured one before Anubis, who is on his hill, (8) the royal chamberlain, the staff of the Rekhyt-people, Sesi'.

Entrance Thicknesses

Pls. 3, 36

NORTH THICKNESS

On the north thickness of the entrance doorway ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr is represented as a mature-age man¹¹⁶ with pendulous breast,¹¹⁷ creases of fat across the body and bulgy stomach. Like many of these figures he is shown bare-headed and with abbreviated shoulder, wearing a long, projecting kilt and bracelets and holding the long staff. Unlike the figures on the entrance jambs, those on the thicknesses face outwards. Above the figure are three vertical (1-3) and three horizontal (4-6) lines of inscriptions. (1) ... nswt ... (2) ... hr ... m ... (3) ... [jmj-r] zšwj n shmh-jb (4) jm3hw hr ntr 3 (5) ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr (6) rn.f nfr Zzj '(1) ... of the king ..., (2) ..., (3) ... [the overseer of] the two [fowl pools] of recreation, (4) the honoured one before the great god, (5) Ankhmahor, (6) his beautiful name, Sesi'.

SOUTH THICKNESS

The representation of ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr on the south entrance thickness is identical to that on the north. Four vertical (1-4) and one horizontal (5) lines of text, generally smaller than those on the north thickness, are written above the figure. (1) ..jmj-r.. hrj-tp [nswt] jmj-r hwt-wrt (2) ... hm-ntr ... hm-ntr Hqt (3) ... jmj-r jzwj ht ⤴ (4) ... m jm3hw hr ntr 3 (5) rn.f 3 ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr rn.f nfr Zzj '(1) ... the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, (2) ... the priest of ... , the priest of Heket, (3) ... the overseer of the two chambers, the attendant of ⤴, (4) ... as an honoured one before the great god, (5) his great name, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi'.

¹¹⁵ James, *Khentika*, 37-38.

¹¹⁶ For the interpretation of these figures see Harpur, *Decoration*, 131-33 and n.84.

¹¹⁷ The unusual size of this breast raises the question of gynaecomastia, a condition of enlargement of the male breasts (Nunn, *Medicine*, 82).

Room I

EAST WALL

Pls. 4, 37a

All decoration within the chapel, with the exception of the pillars in room VI and the false door in room VII, is executed in raised relief. In most of the rooms the upper part of the wall scenes has disappeared, and the east wall of room I retains only the two bottom registers, of which the northern section seems to have deliberately been cut away. The upper register depicts the final phases of the harvest, which suggests that the now missing registers above, of which only traces of feet are now visible, contained one or more of the earlier stages of ploughing, sowing, harvesting or transporting the sheaves to the threshing floor.¹¹⁸

The activities begin, from right, with one peasant throwing the sheaves from an opened bundle on to a stack, while another bundle is still tied. On the threshing floor seven donkeys are moving over the loosened sheaves guided by two men brandishing sticks.¹¹⁹ One donkey is filling its mouth with grain, but the peasant threatens it: *swn(.j) tw phr jm* 'I will persuade you to turn therein'.¹²⁰ Another animal with an open mouth and raised foreleg is turning aggressively towards its beater. Waving the stick the man says: *h3 jm.sn ntj hn(.j)* 'Descend with them, comrade!'¹²¹

The rest of the register is devoted to the different stages of cleaning the grain. A group of five men using forks are working on a pile decorated at the top with flowers as is frequently attested elsewhere.¹²² Their efforts have resulted in a tall heap of grain and smaller ones still mixed with some chaff. Two women are using scoops to fling grain up in the air, allowing the chaff to fly away.¹²³ The last man with the fork addresses the first woman: *wn tn snt(.j)* 'Hurry up, my sister', and she replies: *jrj.j r hzt.k* 'I will do as you wish'.¹²⁴ The label between the two women with scoops reads: *h3h3* 'winnowing',¹²⁵ and the result is *ph3*-grain. The last woman, or more likely the last two, are using sieves to remove the last impurities from the grain. The label between them reads *mft* 'sieving'.¹²⁶ Unlike the men who are represented in different degrees of plumpness, the women are shown thin and perhaps young. They all protect their hair with headcloths bound at the back of the head, and wear tight, rather short dresses, held at the top by a

¹¹⁸ Harpur, *Decoration*, 217.

¹¹⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 122ff.

¹²⁰ Montet, *Vie privée*, 216-17; Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 16.

¹²¹ Montet, *Vie privée*, 218-20; Junker, *Gîza* 6, 147. For a comparison of the common idiom *ntj hn(.j)* with modern colloquial Arabic see Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 16.

¹²² Similar scenes in *Tjj* and *Mrrw-k3.j* show the workmen adorning the pile with flowers (Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pl. 155; Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 168).

¹²³ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 178ff.

¹²⁴ Montet, *Vie privée*, 172. Probably a more literal translation should be 'I will do according to that which you wish'.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 222:5 explains the process as cleaning by the action of air. See also Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 181.

¹²⁶ Montet, *Vie privée*, 222:11; also Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 181.

shoulder strap or a band around the chest and tied at the back. Badawy's interpretation of the fragmentary figure to the extreme left as a man¹²⁷ is unlikely. Young girls working in the fields may, like men, wear a mere loin cloth,¹²⁸ and dressing in short kilts, usually for men, was not uncommon.¹²⁹ But what frequently distinguishes the girls, even if still young with undeveloped breasts, is the fact that they wear anklets. The representation in *ʿnh-m-ḥr* is a balanced composition of two pairs of females, each pair, back to back, performing the same duty with the label describing their action written between them.

An interesting addition to the scene are two vessels with stands and lids and two tall loaves of bread possibly representing the daily food provisions for the workers.¹³⁰ Such provisions are familiar in the repertoire of Fifth Dynasty tombs.¹³¹

The bottom register depicts cattle fording a marsh. This scene is unusual in its location below agricultural pursuits rather than being grouped with other water activities¹³² and in showing a very large number of cattle crossing the water, thirty-four in all. Of these thirty-one are horned, two are hornless and one is a calf. The last, tied with a rope held by two men in a boat, is followed by the mother cow and then by the herd. The mother cow reaches with her tongue to lick that of her calf in an obviously affectionate gesture not usually shown in similar scenes. The first ox is also extending its tongue. The boat is manned by four herdsman, two are manipulating the boat using oars while the other two face the herd, their right arms raised horizontally with the forefingers pointing forward and their left hands holding the rope tied to the calf. Following the herd is another boat, now incomplete, with three occupants, but probably originally with four. All three men hold batons, with the first two extending their right arms and pointing like those in the first boat, while the third man is calling. Perhaps he is the one who utters the spell written above the herd:¹³³ *j nrw pw ʿnh hr.k r šjj pw ntj hr mw tm jw nw n šjj pw jw.f m šp tp ʿnh hr.k r.f wrt* 'Oh, this herdsman! May you be watchful¹³⁴ against that aquatic which is in the water (i.e. the crocodile). May these (i.e. the cattle) not go to that aquatic and may he be blind-of-head. May you be watchful against him, greatly'. A caption written in front of the rear boat reads: *hsf msh* 'repelling the crocodile',¹³⁵ while another relating to the head boat reads: *wsh jn hrp nrw* 'enduring, by the director of herdsman'.¹³⁶ This caption may express a

¹²⁷ *ʿAnkhmāhor*, 16.

¹²⁸ For example Épron - Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. D.

¹²⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 176.

¹³⁰ Badawy, *ʿAnkhmāhor*, 16.

¹³¹ Harpur, *Decoration*, 216.

¹³² A similar arrangement is found in the tomb of *Tjj* (Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pls. 112-14).

¹³³ For a study of this inscription and other similar ones see Montet, *Vie privée*, 69-72; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 117-18.

¹³⁴ The usual translation of *ʿnh hr.k* as 'may your face live' is rather meaningless. *hr* here possibly refers to 'vision' or 'watch'. Vandier correctly explains a phrase *ʿnh hr.k wrt* as 'Que ton visage vive bien!', which means 'Fais bien attention!' (ibid, 118). The opposition here seems to be between the herdsman's vision and the crocodile's blindness.

¹³⁵ Montet, *Vie privée*, 69.

¹³⁶ Montet translates *wsh* as 'se mettre à l'eau' (ibid, 72). Badawy translates it as 'set down' and thinks that it 'explains the result of the magical gesture and spell to lay down the crocodile'

similar meaning to the preceding one and both seem to explain the main spell and the gesture of the herdsman.

One crocodile is depicted under each boat. They are particularly large,¹³⁷ and the fact that nothing else is shown in the water emphasises their presence, yet they do not seem to be alerted to, or attacking, the herd.

SOUTH WALL

Pl. 37b

Only the lower part of the bottom register is extant, showing seven female offering bearers personifying funerary estates, with the likelihood of more estates originally depicted in the upper registers. The women carry objects and either lead or are accompanied by small animals shown in different movements, which renders this scene, traditionally a formal one, in a much more animated manner.

Each estate bears a compound name that ends with the name *Zzj*. The first of these includes the cartouche of Unis, which might indicate service under this king before *ḥm-m-ḥr* was employed by Teti. The fifth estate reads ... *ḥbnw Zzj* and the seventh *[N]bs Zzj*.¹³⁸

WEST WALL

Pl. 37c

The lower part of a marsh scene is preserved, but nothing remains above the water line. The water is crowded with hippopotami, a crocodile, different species of fish and lotus plants, with well rendered details. The main theme is most probably the hippopotamus hunt.¹³⁹ To the right is a hippopotamus with several ropes, possibly ending in harpoons lodged in his body.¹⁴⁰ To the left a female hippopotamus is giving birth, and a large crocodile is waiting to devour the newborn. This theme is characteristic of tombs dating to the end of Dynasty 5 and the beginning of Dynasty 6.¹⁴¹ The different species of fish may be identified from

(*Ankhmahor*, 17). At El-Hawawish, where direct artistic influence from the tombs in the Teti cemetery is evident, e.g. in the dancing scene (see under Room VI), the spell above the crossing herds is written as: *j nrw pw wḥ ḥr mw* ... 'Oh, this herdsman! May your arm/control endure upon the water ...' (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12; vol. 2, fig. 22; vol. 4, fig. 18).

¹³⁷ Proportionately larger than their counterpart in other tombs, e.g. in Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pl. 124 and Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 21.

¹³⁸ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 407. The names of the first two estates as reported there are inaccurate.

¹³⁹ As already identified by Badawy (*Ankhmahor*, 18). Harpur suggests that this could be the remains of a spear fishing or a fowling scene (*Decoration*, 198).

¹⁴⁰ For a study of this activity see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 773ff. For examples, see Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pl. 117; Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 10-13.

¹⁴¹ Examples have been compiled by Harpur (*Decoration*, 355-63 [feature 49]). For redating some of the examples which were placed outside this period see Kanawati - McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 43, n.154.

left to right as follows: *Tilapia*, *Mugil*, *Gnathonemus cyprinoides*, *Schilbe*, *Tilapia*, *Mugil*, *Synodontis*, *Clarias*, *Citharinus*(?), *Malopterurus*(?), *Labeo niloticus*(?), *Mormyrus*(?).¹⁴²

NORTH WALL

Pls. 5a, 38

The lower two registers are partly preserved. Badawy identified the activities here as market scenes,¹⁴³ yet they are more likely to be representations of beer making, similar to those in the mastaba of *Hntj-k3.j*, where they also appear on the north wall of Room I, close to the main entrance.¹⁴⁴

The upper register shows two pairs of men pouring liquid into jars. To the right is a man supporting loaves of bread in a basket, who is labelled: *[jmn]-r pr-šn* 'the overseer of the storehouse'.¹⁴⁵ The words *...n pr* '... of the house' are also written in front of him. To the left is a kneeling scribe who is keeping the records.

The lower register depicts two pairs of workmen and a scribe. As is the case in *Hntj.k3.j*'s tomb,¹⁴⁶ one man in each pair wears a kilt while the second has a loose flap turned around behind him. This probably reflects their respective status. The dialogue between the first two men to the right reads:¹⁴⁷ *dj jw kjj ht3* 'Bring¹⁴⁸ another *ht3*-bread', to which the answer is: *jw.f mh wrt* 'It is completely full'. The next dialogue is between three men. The one to the right says: *hw(j) rf jr.k r m3*¹⁴⁹ *rth ʿd pw* 'Would, then, you do rightly that the *rth*-bread is in good condition'. The man in the centre turns his head to the scribe saying: *zš jr.k tp(j)-r jr.n(j) h3*¹⁵⁰ *6 pzn* 'Write the statement: I have made 6 measures of *pzn*-bread'.¹⁵¹ The scribe responds: *st nw r mnh*¹⁵² *ht hrt jr(j)* 'Mould these properly, things being proportionate thereof'.

Doorway between Rooms I and II

Pls. 5b, 39

While all thicknesses of doorways between rooms in this tomb are decorated in traditional themes, those between rooms I and II and I and VI are unusual in that they are treated like narrow walls, showing scenes of markets and medical

¹⁴² Gamer-Wallert, *Fische*, 140, pls. 1ff; Brewer - Friedman, *Fish*, 47ff.

¹⁴³ 'Ankhmāhor, 19.

¹⁴⁴ James, *Khentika*, 21, pl. 9.

¹⁴⁵ Fischer, *Dendera*, 121-23, 168.

¹⁴⁶ James, *Khentika*, pl. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Montet, *Vie privée*, 242.

¹⁴⁸ Lit. 'let come'.

¹⁴⁹ For *jr.k r m3* see Erman, *Reden, Rufen*, 46.

¹⁵⁰ Many other readings, e.g. *jpt* and *hqst*, have been suggested for this word. See discussion in Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, 84.

¹⁵¹ Montet, *Vie privée*, 242.

¹⁵² For a similar statement see James, *Khentika*, 43.

operations respectively.¹⁵³ Each of the thicknesses of doorway I-II preserves most of the bottom register.

SOUTH THICKNESS

Two pairs of men, sellers and buyers, are depicted. The seller to the right has a basket full of fruit and vegetables, from which he hands over some figs(?) to the man in front of him saying: *dj.k ht nfr(t) ndm(t) n jb.k wp.t(j) ʿ pw* 'Give a good and sweet thing to your heart; may you open this hand'. The man's answer ... *wt* is not clear. The seller to the left has a basket full of gutted fish, some vegetables and possibly bread loaves. He says: *m3.k js ndh(?) .k pn m ht¹⁵⁴.k dd.k w3h.tj ht(?) js pw* 'Look then! your ... is as your thing. Say, may you then put down this thing'. The answer of the standing man is very fragmentary. It reads: ... *nfr wrt* '... very good'.

NORTH THICKNESS

The seated seller presents a gutted fish to a customer and says: *m3 nw n ...* 'Look these ...', to which the man responds: *qjr* 'excellent'. To the left a man is handing a headrest to another, saying *m3 s(jj)* 'See it!', to which the buyer answers: *hmw pw j(w).k m s mnḥ* 'Oh craftsman! you are an efficient man'.¹⁵⁵ A young boy in front of the seller helps carry the objects.

Room II

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 6, 7a, 40

The bottom two registers are almost entirely preserved with the lower part of a third register now extant. The last shows a group of workmen to the right probably spinning with whorls. The activities of the men at the left are not clear.

The middle register depicts two themes: goldworking to the right and making statues to the left. Four kneeling workmen blow air into a furnace using long pipes, while a fifth man bends to poke the fire. The inscriptions above him indicate that the group is involved in manufacturing a jar, probably of gold. Addressing one of his fellows, the man says: *m3 hr.f ds m3 pw dm tbt.f wrt ntj hn(.j) hn.k m ʿnh* 'Inspect its surface. It is a new jar. Make its base very pointed, comrade, by your life'.¹⁵⁶ The answer to this is: *jrj.j r hzt.k m3* 'I will do as you wish, look!'. Next are two workmen beating the metal with stones in their hands. Between them is

¹⁵³ Harpur, *Decoration*, 56.

¹⁵⁴ ∇ is taken as determinative ∇ for *ht*.

¹⁵⁵ Montet, *Vie privée*, 325.

¹⁵⁶ The words *hr* and *tbt* are probably used here to describe the surface, or perhaps the upper part, and the base, or the foot, of the jar. It is interesting that Egyptian colloquial Arabic uses the words 'face' and 'heel' for these terms. The verb *dm* is used for sharpening a knife, and it is noticed that the word *ds*, with different determinatives, can mean a knife, or this type of pointed-base jar. For a different interpretation of the inscription see Montet, *Vie privée*, 278-82; Erman, *Reden, Rufen*, 40ff.; Badawy, *Ankhnachor*, 22; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 31-32.

written: *sqr nbw r qrstt* 'beating the gold for the funerary equipment'. Above this group are two men under an enclosure with a roof supported by columns with lotiform capitals. To the right is the *jmj-r bdtj(w)* 'the overseer of the metal workers',¹⁵⁷ who holds up the balance and weighs the ingots. Opposite him is a scribe recording the weights pronounced by the overseer.

To the left sculptors and painters are working on lifesize statues of the tomb owner, in two instances accompanied by his sons. The first statue at the left, partly preserved, holds the staff and sceptre. It is handled by two sculptors, one standing with an adze in his left hand, labelled *jmj-r qstj(w)* 'the overseer of sculptors',¹⁵⁸ and the second squatting while working with a chisel and mallet. Another similar statue, although accompanied by the young boy, *Jšfj* 'Ishfi', is being coloured by a man using a spatula who is designated *zš* 'scribe/painter'. The statue itself is described as *twi n ksbt* 'a statue of kesebet'. This is followed by a naked statue of *ḥm-m-ḥr*, also accompanied by a small figure, which has been deliberately erased although enough remains to trace parts of its outline and the name *Jš[f]j* 'Ishfi', probably another son of the tomb owner.¹⁵⁹ From his relative size it may be assumed that he is older than the second *Jšfj*. A painter using a brush to colour the statue's wig is designated as *zš wbt rsjt Msj* 'the scribe/painter of the southern workshop, Mesi'. The statue is labelled *twi n špnn* 'a statue of shepenen'. It is uncertain whether the words *ksbt* and *špnn* describing the last two statues refer to the materials they are made of or to the type of colouring used.¹⁶⁰ The last statue represents the owner in a kilt with arms hanging by his sides. The sculptor, identified as *jmj-r qstj(w)* 'the overseer of sculptors', carries an adze over his shoulder, while striking a chisel with the palm of his hand to shape the statue. All four statues appear to be of wood, which may be judged from the lack of any back pillars or support usual in stone statues, from the use of adzes by the sculptors, from the chisel struck with the palm of the hand indicating the use of a soft material, and from the fact that statues holding the staff are generally of wood.

The bottom register, from right, depicts four men, placed in two superposed sub-registers, manufacturing vases. The two men below are drilling the inside of two stone vases. The man to the left, presumably the overseer *jmj-r ḥmwtj(w)?* 'the overseer of craftsmen' says: *jmj ḥpr.s*¹⁶¹ *jr n(.j) šjn* 'Get it done. Do (it) for me, quickly'. The man opposite him responds: *jr.j ḥz(t).k jmj-r* 'I will do your wish, overseer'. In the top sub-register a man labelled *ḥmwtj* 'craftsman' uses a pebble to polish an elaborate vase, adorned with a uraeus and an eagle-shaped lid. Opposite him is the *jmj-r ḥmwtj(w)* 'the overseer of craftsmen' who is inspecting a finished jar.

¹⁵⁷ For this reading of the title see Drenkhahn, *ibid*, 38ff. For a different reading see Moussa - Junge, *Two Tombs*, 16.

¹⁵⁸ For the reading of *qstj* see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 62.

¹⁵⁹ This is the only extant example of an Old Kingdom group statue showing a child in the company of a nude father (Eaton-Krauss, *Statuary*, 132). For a list of nude male statues see Junker, *Giza* 7, 40-41.

¹⁶⁰ Montet, *Vie privée*, 289-90; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 58-59. Eaton-Krauss is of the opinion that *ksbt* and *špnn* are two types of wood (*Statuary*, 132-33).

¹⁶¹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 189.

The next panel is reserved for leather work.¹⁶² A standing man, labelled *jmj-r jz* 'the overseer of the workshop' is said to be *t(h)s hnt* 'stretching the hide'.¹⁶³ He says: *j(w).s sndm.t(j) wrt* 'It is very supple'.¹⁶⁴ A squatting man in front of him is said to be *dbi tbt* 'completing a sandal',¹⁶⁵ while another man is handling another leather object, probably a bag.

The left section of the register is occupied by scenes of jewellery making in two sub-registers. In the inner one men are seated in a hall, the roof of which is supported by columns with lotiform capitals. Their activity is described as *stjt* 'stringing',¹⁶⁶ referring to the collars they are making. The work is supervised by a scribe who records the finished pieces. Above them are six dwarfs also busily occupied in the manufacture of jewellery.

WEST WALL

Pls. 8, 9, 42

The tomb owner is shown to the right in a large size wearing a projecting kilt, a panther's skin and sandals. In front of him is the figure of a man, possibly his son described as: *smr wtj hrj-hbt Jšff* 'the sole companion, the lector priest, Ishfi', while behind him is another man, whose figure and related inscriptions have been chiselled out. Judging by the traces of the surviving signs he appears to be a son, perhaps also named *Jšff*. He may be the same as the one whose figure was erased on the east wall of room VI. Above him in a superposed register is a dwarf carrying a basket of fruit in one hand and in the other holding the rope attached to a monkey perched on his shoulder and eating one of the fruits. The partially preserved sub-register shows a man wearing a loin cloth.

The vertical caption describing the activities *nh-m-ḥr* is watching reads: ... *šht 3pdw jn mhḥw nw dt.f* '... netting birds by the fowlers of his estate'.¹⁶⁷ Two stages of this activity are shown. The earlier, in the bottom register, depicts the clapnet set and full of birds and four haulers ready and waiting for the order of the signalman to pull the rope and close the net. The signalman hides behind reed plants, raises his left arm and looks backward towards his men urging them: *jw hb n ḥ.k mhḥw pw jgr tjwn* 'There is a catch for your arm, Oh this fowler; may you keep quiet'.¹⁶⁸ The hunt is supervised by an overseer standing at a distance and labelled: *jmj-r mh(w)* 'The overseer of fowlers'. Some loaves, jars, baskets of food and coiled ropes represent some of the provisions brought by the fowlers.

Some of the details in the scene are of special interest. The second hauler, perhaps an elderly man judging by his potbelly and balding forehead, appears to suffer from a scrotal hernia, while the last hauler in the register above appears to

¹⁶² Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 7ff.

¹⁶³ Montet, *Vie privée*, 315-16.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 316.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 317-18.

¹⁶⁶ Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 23.

¹⁶⁷ For a similar label see Murray, *Saqqara*, 11; Montet, *Vie privée*, 52.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 58.

have an umbilical hernia.¹⁶⁹ Such afflictions are perhaps expected in professions where sudden maximum force is often needed.¹⁷⁰ The attachment of the end of the rope to a peg fixed to the ground and the way the men twist the rope in their left hands give them much better grip on the rope. The marshy environment is rendered more realistic by the depiction of aquatic vegetation, a bird hatching eggs and various insects, grasshoppers, a dragonfly and a butterfly, on the reeds.

To the right of the scene were two individuals carrying birds and facing *‘nh-m-ε-Hr*. The figure and inscriptions of the first man have been erased, but the traces of the surviving signs suggest that he was the tomb owner's son, probably the same one, *Jšff*, whose figure was also chiselled out in the statue making scene on the adjacent south wall. Behind this man is depicted a corpulent figure of an offering bearer in a long kilt labelled as: *šḥḏ ḥm(w)-k3 Ḥpj* 'the superintendent of the ka-servants, Hepi'.

The next register shows the most important moment of the hunt. The men have pulled the rope, throwing themselves backwards to the ground to firmly close the net which is full of birds. One man is collecting birds from the net, while another is running to his help.¹⁷¹ An upper sub-register is occupied by sacks, jars, crates and other provisions as well as some birds in a cage, while the space between the haulers is filled with vegetation. The caption above the scene reads: *j mḥw pw jw k3(w) n Zzj* 'Oh this fowler; there is food(?) for Sesī'.

Three men are shown to the right carrying birds for *‘nh-m-ε-Hr*. They are: 1) *z3.f smsw n ḥt.f mrjj.f šḥḏ ḥntj(w)-š pr-ε3 Jšff* 'his eldest son of his body, his beloved, the superintendent of the *ḥntj-š* officials of the palace, Ishfi', 2) *ḥm.k3 Jpj* 'the ka-servant, Ipi', 3) *swnw pr-ε3 ‘nh* 'the physician of the palace, Ankh'.

The extant section of the uppermost register shows the legs of a number of individuals, a basket and some containers, but the main theme depicted here is not clear, although the first three men probably carry offerings to *‘nh-m-ε-Hr*. The one in the front is labelled ... *st ḥntj(w)-š ... w* '... of the department of the *ḥntj-š* officials ... u', who may be the tomb owner's brother, Tjemeru. The man behind him is called *Prj* 'Peri'.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 7b, 41

The bottom two registers and the lower part of a third register are well preserved and all depict offering bearers. However, the men here are not as heavily laden with objects as those shown in rooms III-V, so the scene appears less crowded. The extant section of the upper register shows the legs of nine men and a hound, but little is left of the objects carried. In the middle register men carry mainly toilet equipment such as vases, perhaps containing oils, a ewer, wooden caskets, headrests and folded linen. They are accompanied by a hound and a monkey on a

¹⁶⁹ See Nunn, *Medicine*, 92-93, 166-67.

¹⁷⁰ Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl 86; Épron - Wild. *Ti*, pls. 110, 114.

¹⁷¹ For these running figures see Harpur, *Decoration*, 144.

leash. The first two men are identified as: 1) *hrp zh Twj* 'the director of the food-hall, Tewai', 2) *hrp zh Ttj-ḥ* 'the director of the food-hall, Teti-ankh'. The monkey is also named as: *Mr-rdj.s* 'Mer-redis', which means 'the love she gives'. The man at the end of the row urges the one before him to move faster: *jt n.k rdwj.k* 'Move your feet'.¹⁷²

The offering bearers in the bottom register carry food provisions, live geese and lotus flowers and are accompanied by a calf on a leash, a hound and a young gazelle. Three of the first four men bear containers on their shoulders and jars hanging on ropes. The last three in the row carry large baskets heavily laden with loaves, fruits and vegetables, which are suspended on ropes from both ends of poles borne across their shoulders. They wear loincloths and sandals, the latter being rare among workmen¹⁷³ and, apart from sandals worn by tomb owners, might have been associated with long distances and fast movement. This could also be seen in the running pace of these three men and in the address of the first of them to the offering bearer in front of him: *jr n.j wst* 'Make way for me'.

EAST WALL

Pl. 43a

Only the feet of the tomb owner and possibly two sons(?) are visible with the end of two lines of vertical inscriptions: 1) ... *Šm* 2) ... [*jn ḥm(w)-k3*] *nw dt.f* '1) ... the South, 2) ... by the ka-servants of his estate'. Capart suggests that the wall originally had a fishing scene to parallel the fowling scene on the opposite wall.¹⁷⁴ The fish depicted might be part of the catch brought to *ḥ-m-ḥr*.

Doorway Between Rooms II-III

Pl. 43b, c

SOUTH THICKNESS

The scenes are fully preserved and are divided into three registers, all dealing with the bringing of animals which proceed, like the offering bearers in rooms III and IV, towards the innermost part of the chapel in room IV which probably housed the false door. The top register depicts two men leading a gazelle which is adorned with a collar and pendant.¹⁷⁵ The animal is labelled: *rn n ghs jmj(t) mdt* 'young gazelle belonging to the stall'.¹⁷⁶ The man behind is addressing his fellow: *jn sw r.k* 'Bring it to you'. These are followed by another man leading an animal, also with a collar and pendant, labelled: *rn [n] šsw* 'young bubalis antelope'. The caption above the register reads: *šhpt ndt-ḥr [jn ḥm(w)-k3 dt.f]*¹⁷⁷ 'bringing the gifts [by the ka-servants of his estate]'.

¹⁷² For a different interpretation see Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 26.

¹⁷³ Harpur, *Decoration*, 171; Siebels, *BACE* 7, 75ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Rue de tombeaux* 1, 37.

¹⁷⁵ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 21, fig. 18.

¹⁷⁶ Montet, *Vie privée*, 151.

¹⁷⁷ For a study of the *dt* and *pr dt* see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 158ff.

The middle register presents a lively rendering of seven men overthrowing a bull labelled *rn n jw3* 'young ox'. They are supervised by a *hrp nr(w)* 'director of herdsmen' who wears the typical herdsman's kilt and leans on a staff. The inscriptions above read: *shpt rn n jw3 jn hm(w)-k3 [n]w dt.f* 'bringing the young ox by the ka-servant(s) of his estate'.

The bottom register depicts two men leading an animal described as: *rn n m3-hd* 'young oryx'. Addressing his fellow worker, the man in the front says: *dj jw3 n(.j) m3-hd pn dr jtt hrj-hbt* 'Make this oryx come to me before the arrival of the lector priest',¹⁷⁸ to which the answer is *mk wj hr.s mrjj* 'Behold! I am at it, beloved!'. Following these is a third man, labelled *jmj-r mh(w)* 'overseer of fowlers', who carries three geese in one hand and holds the leash attached to a calf in the other. The caption above the register is identical to that in the top register.

NORTH THICKNESS

Only the bottom two registers are preserved. The upper one is almost identical to and at the same level of the middle register of the opposite thickness. However, here only six men are overthrowing the bull, and the *hrp nrw* 'director of herdsmen' wears an unusually long wig or a headdress. The ox is also described as *rn n jw3* 'young ox' in the caption.

The bottom register depicts two pairs of men handling animals. The first pair is encouraging a *rn n m3-hd* 'young oryx' to move. The man behind addresses his companion: *jt r.k wrt* 'Pull strongly'.¹⁷⁹ The men behind are leading a *rn n gh3* 'young gazelle'. The man at the rear urges his companion to *ndr sw r mnh* 'Hold it well'. A small gazelle is shown suckling. The scene is labelled: *shpt ʿwt*¹⁸⁰ *h3st jnnt n.f jn hm(w)-k3* 'bringing the desert animals which are brought for him by the ka-servant(s)'.

Room III

The walls of this room as well as those of rooms IV and V are mostly occupied by rather crowded scenes of men carrying offerings to large figures of the tomb owner.

EAST WALL

Pls. 10, 11, 44

Holding the staff and the sceptre *ʿnh-m-ʿHr* is depicted in a large size wearing a long wig, a beard, a collar, bracelets and two straps across his chest. Around his neck hangs an elaborate pendant with the emblem of the goddess Bat.¹⁸¹ His short kilt is fastened with a belt and is adorned with strings of beads in the front. Before his face is written *Zzj* 'Sesi', and in front of his waist he is identified as: *jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f hrj-tp nswt jm3hw hr ntr 3 Zsj* 'the overseer of all the

¹⁷⁸ Montet, *Vie privée*, 151.

¹⁷⁹ For slightly different translation see *ibid*, 158; James, *Khentika*, 54.

¹⁸⁰ Montet, *Vie privée*, 86-87.

¹⁸¹ Fischer, *JARCE* 1, 7ff. For a similar emblem see James, *Khentika*, pl. 16.

works of the king in the entire land, the royal chamberlain, the honoured one before the great god, Sesi'.

Three registers of offering bearers are depicted facing *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*, but the heads of the men in the top register and the caption above them have disappeared. The bearers are laden with traditional offerings of baskets and trays with fruits, vegetables, pieces of meat and loaves of bread, jars of drink, fowl, small animals, an ox foreleg and, interestingly, bowls with lotus growing or placed in them.

The inscriptions stress the fact that these items are provided as royal offerings. Thus the inscriptions above the middle register read: *shpt prt-ḥrw jnnt m ḥtp-dj-nswt jn ḥm(w)-k3 t wḥb pw n Wsjr jw n Zsj jmḥw* 'bringing the offerings which are brought as offerings which the king gives by the ka-servant(s). This pure bread of Osiris is for Sesi, the honoured one'. The first man in the row of bearers in this register is unusually clad in a shoulder-length wig, a beard and a collar. An inscription before him reads: *jnt ndt-ḥr jn š n dt.f* 'bringing gifts by the lake of his estate'. This might suggest that the figure is a personification of the lake in *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s estate.¹⁸² The caption above the bottom register reads: *shpt prt-ḥrw jnnt m ḥtp-dj-nswt jn ḥm(w)-k3 t wḥb pw n Jnpw jw n Zzj jmḥw* 'bringing the offerings which are brought as offerings which the king gives by the ka-servant(s). This pure bread of Anubis is for Sesi, the honoured one'.

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 12, 45

The scenes on this wall are weathered, particularly in the western part. This agrees with the general condition of the chapel where the western section is generally poorly preserved. *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* is depicted holding the staff and the sceptre and wearing a short kilt, a panther's skin, bracelets and sandals. He is identified as: *jmḥw ḥr Jnpw ḥrj-tp nswt jmj-r ḥwt-wrt ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* 'the honoured one before Anubis, the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, Ankhmahor'. Two small figures stand in front of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* and a third one behind him, but there are no accompanying inscriptions to identify them.¹⁸³

Opposite the tomb owner are two extant registers. The top register depicts a portly man wearing a long kilt, a collar and straps across his shoulders which fall over his chest. He is identified as: *sn.f mrjj.f smr pr [špsj] nswt jmj-r st ḥntj(w)-š pr-ḥ3 Tmrw* 'his brother, his beloved, the companion of the house, the nobleman of the king, the overseer of the department of the *ḥntj-š* officials of the palace, Tjemeru'. The bottom register retains traces of a standing figure which has been deliberately erased. Capart has recognised the signs for *z3.f* 'his son' written before this figure,¹⁸⁴ which may well represent one of the sons whose figures were similarly erased elsewhere in the chapel. In front of the figure is scribal equipment placed on a stand. This is in agreement with the text written above him which

¹⁸² Staehelin, *Tracht*, 90, fig. 44; Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 29-30.

¹⁸³ Badawy suggests that the two men before him are probably his sons (ibid, 31). This is not necessarily the case, and in a similar representation on the west wall of this room the first place is given to *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s brother, *Tmrw*.

¹⁸⁴ *Rue de tombeaux* 1, 43; Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 31.

indicates that this son(?) is reading the donation deed: *šdt n.f zš n qrstt.f djjt n.f m htp-dj-nswt jmj-r k3t Zzj* 'reading out for him the deed of his funerary arrangement given to him as an offering which the king gives. The overseer of the work, Sesi'.¹⁸⁵

WEST WALL

Pl. 46

The scenes on this wall are weathered. As on the south wall, *ḥm-m-ḥr* holds the staff and sceptre and wears a short kilt, a panther's skin, bracelets and sandals. He is designated as: *jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f mdḥ zš nswt Zzj* 'the overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, the master architect of the king, Sesi'. Also like the south wall is the depiction of two small figures of men standing before him and another behind him. Only the first man is identified, being *špsj nswt smr pr šdḥ hntj(w)-š pr-ḥ Tmrw* 'the nobleman of the king, the companion of the house, the superintendent of the *hntj-š* officials of the palace, Tjemeru'.

Four registers of offering bearers are facing the tomb owner, but of the uppermost only some feet of offering bearers and the legs of a small animal can now be seen. The men in the other registers carry the traditional offerings of food, drink and live fowl and are accompanied by small animals. The caption above the top extant register reads: *šhpt k3t šht jnnt n [hrj]-tp nswt ...* 'bringing the works of the fields, which are brought for the royal chamberlain ...'. The caption above the middle register reads: *šhpt ndt-ḥr jnnt [n] jmj-r k3t ...* 'bringing the gifts which are brought for the overseer of the works ...'. The first offering bearer in this register is *zš pr md3t nṯr pr-ḥ zš w3bt Msj* 'the scribe of the house of the sacred books of the palace, the scribe/painter of the workshop, Mesi'. He is almost certainly the same painter depicted on the south wall of room II. The label above the bottom register reads: *šhpt šht 3pdw ...* 'bringing fruit, fowl ...'. Here a figure facing the row of offering bearers is described as: *smr w3tj Jšff* 'the sole companion, Ishfi' who may well be *ḥm-m-ḥr*'s son.

NORTH WALL

Pl. 47

Part of the figure of *ḥm-m-ḥr* is preserved. He holds the staff and sceptre and is accompanied by a small figure standing near his foot. In front of his waist are lines of inscription reading: (1) *jmj[-r ...]* (2) *...nswt* (3) *jm3ḥw hr nṯr Zzj* '(1) the overseer ..., (2) ... of the king, (3) the honoured one before the god, Sesi'. Facing the tomb owner are three extant registers of offering bearers carrying traditional food, drink, fowl and bowls with lotus flowers and buds and accompanied by a variety of small animals. The caption above the top register reads: *šhpt 3pdw rnpt nbt nfrt ...* 'bringing the fowl and all fine year-offerings ...'. The caption above the middle register reads: *šhpt ht nbt nfrt jnnt n.f m [htp-dj] nswt ...* 'bringing all fine offerings which are brought for him as offerings which the king gives ...'. Above the bottom register is written: *šhpt ndt-ḥr rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt m njwwt.f ḥwwt.f nt*

¹⁸⁵ For similar inscriptions see James, *Khentika*, 58; Sethe, *Urk.* 1, 203.

T3-mḥw Šmꜥw 'bringing the gifts and all fine year-offerings which are brought from his towns and his estates of the Delta and Upper Egypt'.

Doorway Between Rooms III-IV

Pls. 13, 48

EAST THICKNESS

The scenes here are preserved up to their full height, with three registers showing offering bearers directed towards room IV. The carving of the figures is very fine and full of details, particularly in the lower registers. One can certainly detect different hands in every register, with the quality of the reliefs declining as the registers proceed upwards. The same is true in most parts of the chapel, although it is more distinct on some walls than on others. The men carry the usual food, drink, flowers and fowl and each but one is accompanied by a small animal. Each register is surmounted by two lines of hieroglyphs. Those above the top register read: ... *m ḥwwt.f nt T3-mḥw Šmꜥw ... stpt(?) ḥt nbt nfrt jn ḥm(w)-k3 nw pr-dt.f* '... from his estates of the Delta and Upper Egypt ... the choice food and all fine offerings by the ka-servant(s) of his estate'. Above the middle register is written: *shpt 3pdw shpt shṯ ḏsrt ḥt nbt nfrt jnnt m njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw Šmꜥw m ḥb m ḥrt-ḥrw nt rꜥ nb* 'bringing the fowl, bringing fruit, ḏsrt-beer and all fine offerings which are brought from his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt in the feast in the course of every day'. The titles, but not the names, of the first two men are given as follows: *shḏ ḥm(w)-k3 n jmj-wrt* 'the superintendent of the ka-servant(s) of the starboard phyle' and *shḏ ḥm(w)-k3* 'the superintendent of the ka-servant(s)'. Inscriptions above the bottom register read: *shpt ndt-ḥr rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt m T3-mḥw Šmꜥw shpt ḏ3bw jšd jrp jnnw m ḥtp-dj-nswt* 'bringing the gifts and all fine year-offerings which are brought from the Delta and Upper Egypt; bringing figs, jšd-fruit and wine which are brought as offerings which the king gives'.

WEST THICKNESS

Of the top register only the legs of offering bearers and small animals are now extant. Below this are preserved two registers with scenes similar to those on the opposite thickness. The text above the upper register reads: *shpt 3pdw shpt [shṯ] ḏsrt ḥḏw ḥt nbt nfrt jnnt m njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw Šmꜥw m ḥb nb m ḥrt-ḥrw nt rꜥ nb* 'bringing the fowl, bringing fruit, ḏsrt-beer, onions and all fine offerings which are brought from his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt in every feast in the course of every day'. A portly man, who appeared also on the west wall of room II, is described as: *shḏ ḥm(w)-k3 Ḥpj* 'the superintendent of the ka-servant(s), Hapi'. He is followed by another bearer labelled as: *shḏ zš(w) mrt Jr-n-ḫtj* 'the superintendent of scribes of the weavers, Ir-en-akhti', then an unnamed man who held the titles of *zš z3 ḥm-k3* 'the scribe of the phyle, the ka-servant'. The last man is unidentified and so are the four men in the bottom register. These bearers are laden with food, drink and live birds and are accompanied by some small animals. Lotus flowers placed in large bowls are also brought. The inscriptions above the bottom register read: *shpt ndt-ḥr rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt m njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw Šmꜥw shpt ḏ3bw jšd jrp m ḥrt-ḥrw nt rꜥ nb jn ḥm(w)-k3 nw dt.f* 'bringing the gifts and all fine year-offerings which are brought from his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt;

bringing figs, *jšd*-fruit and wine in the course of every day by the ka-servant(s) of his estate'.

Room IV

This room represents the offering chamber where a false door presumably occupied the entire west wall.¹⁸⁶ An offering bench probably extended in front of the false door and against part of the north wall, as indicated by a small section of stone crowned with a cavetto cornice which is preserved on the north wall.¹⁸⁷ The arrangement of the scenes in room IV are similar to those in the offering chambers of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* and *Hntj-k3.j*,¹⁸⁸ with the butchery cycle on the east wall and offering bearers on both north and south walls. The men on the last two walls proceed westwards, probably towards figures of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr* seated at offering tables, but the western section of the room is completely gone.

EAST WALL

Pls. 14-16, 49

This wall depicts one of the liveliest and most elaborate scenes of butchery cycles from the Old Kingdom. Three registers are entirely reserved for these activities, but it is uncertain whether the fourth and presumably uppermost register was also devoted to this topic.¹⁸⁹ Like the scenes in other rooms and on the door thicknesses, the bottom register is not only better finished, but also demonstrates different hands and more technical ability in sculpture.¹⁹⁰ The details of the hieroglyphs, wigs, flowers, parts of the animals' bodies, etc., are finer and more complete. The butchers are shown binding the animals, holding them by the horns, sharpening their knives on whetstones attached to their belts, making incisions, cutting forelegs, haunches and ribs, extracting the hearts, handling the entrails, carrying cuts of meat, etc. Each register shows five groups of men working on bound animals. It is interesting to notice that the middle ox in the upper register and three oxen in the middle register are tied to tethering rings.¹⁹¹ The dialogue between the butchers is recorded above them, separated by vertical dividing lines.

The upper section of the top register is missing, but enough remains to show the action of the men and part of their dialogue. Two men are working on the first animal from right. The first man introduces his arm into the ox's body to extract its heart, while the second man stands, perhaps carrying a jar. The remaining

¹⁸⁶ Although the door is marked on Loret's plan of the mastaba, no remains or record of it exists. A re-excavation of the filling of the mastaba also failed to find any part of the door.

¹⁸⁷ See James, *Khentika*, pl. 18.

¹⁸⁸ Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 97-101; James *Khentika*, pls. 19-22.

¹⁸⁹ In near contemporary mastabas the upper parts of the east walls are occupied by scenes of offering bearers or offering tables, see Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 101; Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 54, 109; James, *Khentika*, pl. 22.

¹⁹⁰ This is unlikely to indicate that the decoration of the upper registers was hastily finished on the sudden death of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr* (Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 35), but rather that the lower register, being at the height of a seated individual, was allocated to a master sculptor.

¹⁹¹ The actual tethering rings still exist in the floor of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s chapel (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 126). See also Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. A.

inscriptions read: ... *ḥndw pn* '... this jar'.¹⁹² The second ox is already opened with two butchers cutting parts of it. A partly preserved inscription reads: ... *mj nw* '... like this'. A third man is helping by holding the raised hind leg of the animal with one hand while carrying cuts of meat in the other. In front of him is written: *jw hrj-ḥbt jj* 'the lector priest is coming', and behind him: ... *mrjj* '... , beloved'. The third ox has lost one of its forelegs, which is perhaps carried by the standing man. Addressing him, the butcher says: *dj ḥpš hr ḥst* 'put the foreleg on the offering table', to which he responds: ... *[ntj] ḥ[n]ḥ(.j) ḥn.k m ḥnh* '... comrade, by your life'. Three men are working on the fourth ox, about to extract its entrails. A butcher pushes his arm inside the last animal, while another holds a jar for him. The inscriptions read: ... *r kjj ḥnh(.j) wrt* '... another with me, well'. The man to the extreme left is probably sharpening his knife. The inscription before him reads: *pdt(?) ds* 'sharpening the knife'.

The middle register is the best preserved.¹⁹³ From right a butcher has cut the foreleg of an ox. Addressing his assistant he says: *ḥḥ wrt ntj ḥnh(.j) dj ḥpš.k pn (hr)*¹⁹⁴ *ḥst wnj* 'Stand up firmly, comrade. Put this your foreleg on the offering table, hurry up'; to which the assistant replies: *jrj.j r ḥzt.k ḥ(.j) n jqr* 'I will do as you wish, I will carry (it) well'. A third man in this group, who supports the hind leg of the animal, joins in the conversation by saying: *mk jw(.j) ḥnh.k wnj mjn* 'Behold! I will go with you, hurry up today'. Three men also work on the second ox. A butcher who has just extracted the animal's heart and is smelling it says: *wḥb jw wḥb n Zzj n k3.f dj jw ḥndw pn* 'Pure, it is pure for Sesi, for his ka. Let this jar come'. An assistant who supports a jar on his shoulder with one hand while stretching the other forward responds: *dj ḥstj pn wnj* 'Give this heart, hurry up'. A third man, the only one wearing a loincloth rather than a kilt, unfastens the rope binding the animal's legs. He says: *j(w).k m ḥjj m3c jnk pw* 'Who are you? The real man, it is me'. In the third group a butcher who has extracted the animal's fillet¹⁹⁵ says: *mk jwf n ḥst dj hr ḥst* 'Behold the fillet. Put (it) on the offering table'. The two other men are engaged in cutting the hind leg of the ox. The butcher holding the knife is addressing his assistant who holds the leg: *jtj r.k jr.k ntj tbn* 'Take away! To you what is cut up'.¹⁹⁶ The assistant gives the usual response: *jrj.j (r) ḥzt.k ntj ḥnh(.j)* 'I will do as you wish, comrade'.

The fourth scene shows a man mounting the neck of the bound animal and holding its horns. He talks to the butcher behind him: *tbn r.k j(w) n k3 n Zzj nb (.j) nhm w(j) m-ḥf jw3*¹⁹⁷ *pw shm* 'Cut up, (it) is for the ka of Sesi, my lord. Rescue me from it, this ox is powerful'. The butcher, who has already separated the foreleg of the animal responds: *ndr sw m r.k r mnḥ* 'Hold it fast with your mouth, thoroughly'. Montet has remarked that the actions of the men and their dialogue are absurd since they indicate that the foreleg was cut while the animal was still

¹⁹² The scene was perhaps similar to that of the second group from right in the middle register.

¹⁹³ This register has been copied and studied in 1910 by Montet (*Vie privée*, 175-77).

¹⁹⁴ The same phrase occurs above the animal in the centre of the upper register. See also Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 35-36, fig. 47, pl. 61.

¹⁹⁵ Lit. 'meat of choice', see Montet, *Vie privée*, 170-71.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 176.

¹⁹⁷ A similar determinative in the tomb of *Jdw* at Giza is identified as *jw3* (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33).

alive.¹⁹⁸ Junker¹⁹⁹ and Vandier²⁰⁰ reasonably suggest that while in some instances the animal was killed by having its throat cut, the scenes in most cases depict the severing of a foreleg of what appears most probably to be a living ox. On the other hand, Montet's interpretation that the butcher's response: 'Hold it fast with your mouth, thoroughly' can only be a bad joke,²⁰¹ is unlikely and may well represent workmen's idiom. In colloquial Arabic, for example, the expression 'to hold with one's teeth' means to hold very firmly. Following the two men is a third one passing the whetstone over his knife. The accompanying inscriptions read: *pdt ds* 'sharpening the knife'. He is followed by another man carrying various cuts of meat who says: *jr n.j wst* 'Make way for me'. In the last group to the left a butcher approaches his crouching companion saying: *ms tw jr(.j) hn.k m nh* 'Bring away to me, by your life'. The other who pulls out the animal's entrails says: *jw ssw(.j) nn n mst dj(.j) n hrp zh m mh.f* 'I will empty this truly, which I will give to the director of the food-hall in its total'. Next to them is a butcher cutting the hind leg of the ox with a knife in his right hand while supporting the leg with his left and saying: *jw qsn r jrt nn w.k(wj) wrt* 'It is difficult to do this, being completely alone'.

The bottom register is partly damaged at the right end. Three men are working on an ox. Of the dialogue of two of them we can read: *[jr]j.j [r] hzt.k n[tj] hn(.j)* 'I will do as you wish, comrade' and *...j wnj hn.k m nh* '... hurry up, by your life'. Two pairs of men are working on the second animal. The conversation of the first pair reads: *... nn r hrp zh ntj hrj-tp ... d ... [j]w nfr wrt* '... to the director of the food-hall who is in charge ... d(?)... ox, very well' and *wbt pw jwf [n hst n Zz]j²⁰² nb(.j) jmshw n Jnpw tpj dw.f* 'meat offerings and fillets for Sesi, my lord, the honoured one of Anubis, who is on his hill'. The second pair are engaged in cutting the hind leg. Addressing his assistant the butcher says: *ndr n(.j) mnt hn.k m nh shp.tj.s r hst* 'Hold fast for me the hind leg, by your life, which will be brought to the offering table'. The assistant responds: *jrj(.j) r hzt.k ntj hn(.j)* 'I will do as you wish, comrade'.

Next are two men about to handle a living ox. The butcher sharpens his knife on the whetstone while instructing his assistant who firmly holds the animal by both horns: *pns tp n jwz pn wnj dj.k pr.j m hps.f [n] k3 n Zzj nb(.j) jmshw n Jnpw* 'Turn the head of this ox, hurry up. Let me finish with its foreleg (for) the ka of Sesi, my lord, the honoured one of Anubis'.²⁰³ The verb *pns* is translated by Montet as 'retourne',²⁰⁴ and by Badawy as 'cut off'.²⁰⁵ The assistant responds:

¹⁹⁸ *Vie privée*, 176.

¹⁹⁹ *Giza* 3, 229-31.

²⁰⁰ *Manuel* 5, 136-38.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* Badawy suggests that 'the owl is probably an error for the quail chick *w* in *ndrw*'. He accordingly renders the sentence as: *ndrw sw r.k r mnj* 'Hold him fast to thee, thoroughly' (*Ankhmāhor*, 36, 53 n.195). This seems unlikely and the word *ndr* is written twice without the *w* in the bottom register.

²⁰² The name *Zzj* may be reconstructed from the final *j* and the foot of the seated figure determinative, which is followed by *nb.j* as in the inscriptions of the fourth group in the middle register.

²⁰³ Montet, *Vie privée*, 163, 173.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 163-64.

²⁰⁵ *Ankhmāhor*, 36.

A line of text which runs above the bearers in the bottom register reads: ... *m Dḥwtjt m rkḥ m ḥb wr m ḥb Zkr m jmnjt nt r nb m ḥrt-ḥrw jn ḥmw-k3 nw ḏt.f n ḥrj-tp nswt jmj-r ḥwt-wrt Zzj* '... at the Thot feast, at the burning feast, at the great feast and at the Sokar feast as daily offerings in the course of every day by the ka-servants of his estate for the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, Sesi'.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 18, 51

Like the south wall, two and a half registers are preserved showing rows of offering bearers, 16 now visible in the upper register and 15 in each of the lower two. They carry food and drink on trays, in baskets and in jars and hold lotus flowers, live fowl and small animals, both bound and carried and led on ropes. It is interesting that the representation of a hyena led by the thirteenth bearer was replaced by that of a calf. Only one man, the second in the bottom register, is identified in incised inscription as: *šḏ ḏḏwtj(w) Ḥtp* 'the superintendent of the seal-bearers, Hetep'. The left part of the wall is missing and most probably contained a depiction of the tomb owner at an offering table towards which the offering bearers are directed. A line of hieroglyphs above the men in the bottom register reads: ... *[m rkḥ] m ḥb wr m ḥb nb m jmnjt nt r nb m ḥrt-ḥrw jn ḥmw-k3 nw ḏt.f n k3 ḥrj-tp nswt ḥḥ-m-ḥ-Hr* '... at the burning feast, at the great feast and at every feast as daily offerings in the course of every day by the ka-servants of his estate for the ka of the royal chamberlain, Ankhmahor'.

Doorway Between Rooms III-V

Pls. 52, 53

SOUTH THICKNESS

All three registers which originally decorated the two thicknesses of this doorway are preserved although in a weathered condition. The scenes are clearly to be read from the lower register upwards. This is evident from the fact that it contains the main label for the three registers and from the order of the traditional oils which start in the middle register and continue in the upper one. The bottom register depicts four men carrying folded linen, the two men in front shown with abbreviated shoulders. The label above them reads: *šḏpt ḥbsw nw ḥtp dj nswt* 'bringing the clothes of the offerings which the king gives'. The middle and upper registers are occupied by six men carrying jars of oils as well as other objects. The oils are identified as: *stj ḥb*-oil, *ḥknw*-oil, *nḥnm*-oil, *sft*-oil, *tw3wt*-oil, *ḥ3tt ḥ3 ḥnw* 'best cedar and Libyan oils'. The last two oils are usually represented in separate jars, bringing the total number to seven jars, and in the mastaba of *Mrrw-k3.j*, for example, these oils are carried by seven men.²¹¹ In addition to the oils the men in

²¹¹ Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 72. See also *ibid*, pl. 75 where in addition an eighth man carries *mrḥt* oil.

the tomb of *ʿnh-m-ʿHr* carry straps,²¹² bags, vases, collars and pendants one of which terminates at either end in a uraeus.²¹³

NORTH THICKNESS

The bottom register shows two men using a horizontal pole to transport a large chest with curved top. The contents of the chest may be understood from the caption above it: *sdʒt mnht r jz* 'transporting clothing to the tomb'. The upper two registers are occupied by six men carrying on their shoulders vessels of different shapes. Five of the men are described as *hm-k3* 'ka-servant' and are named as follows: *Ttj* 'Tjeti', *Jšff* 'Ishfi', *Rdj.j* 'Redy', *Zzj* 'Sesi' and *ʿnh.f* 'Ankhef'. These inscriptions are in raised relief and are accordingly part of the original decoration of the chapel.

Room V

EAST WALL

Pl. 54

This is the only wall partly preserved in this room, the rest have completely disappeared. To the left is the remaining part of a staff, indicating that the tomb owner was depicted in a large size. Opposite him were four registers of offering bearers, but of the top register only the legs of one man now remain. The other three registers, which are very badly weathered, each depict pairs of men carrying between them on horizontal poles chests with curved tops. In the middle of the bottom register are the traces of a figure identified as *z3.f smsw(?)* ... 'his eldest son ...'. This is most probably one of the sons whose figures and inscriptions have been systematically erased elsewhere in the chapel. The offering bearers seem to be divided into groups or phyles which are named after the technical terms of navigation.²¹⁴ Thus in the bottom register one reads: *t3-wr n hzt* 'the larboard of the favoured' and *jmj wrt n hzt* 'the starboard of the favoured'. In the register above one reads: *jmj nfrt n hzt* 'the stern of the favoured' and *w3dt n hzt* 'the bow of the favoured'.²¹⁵ In one instance a man carries a jar and behind him is the superintendent of the group. It is unfortunate that the vertical inscription identifying the scene is incomplete, which renders its meaning uncertain. It reads: ... *hb nb r sʿbt r tp-mr jn hm(w)-k3* '... every feast, as(?) *sʿbt*²¹⁶ and as fine cloth by the ka-servant(s)'.

²¹² A similar strap is worn by *ʿnh-m-ʿHr*'s brother, *Tmrw*, on the south wall of room III.

²¹³ A similar pendant is shown among the objects carried for *Mrrw-k3.j* (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 69) and also worn by his wife, *Zšzšt*, possibly daughter of Teti (ibid, pl. 17).

²¹⁴ On the names of these phyles see Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 11 ff.

²¹⁵ Montet, *Vie privée*, 350ff., 395-96.

²¹⁶ The word is, to our knowledge, unattested, but might be related to *ʿbt* 'funerary ritual objects' (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 40; Blackman, *Meir* 3, 28 n.8).

Doorway Between Rooms I-VI

Pls. 19, 55

EAST THICKNESS

The bottom register consists of two scenes, usually taken to represent two successive stages of circumcision.²¹⁷ The theme does not otherwise appear in any known tomb,²¹⁸ and its depiction here is curious as the tomb owner does not hold any title related to medicine²¹⁹ and the inscriptions do not suggest that the patient was *ḥm-kꜣ* 'Hr himself. The age of the patient is also uncertain and the suggestion that he is 'a boy at puberty',²²⁰ although possible could not be confirmed from the scene. The operation is performed by a man simply described as: *ḥm-kꜣ* 'ka-servant', and it might be that circumcision was not among the physician's concern.²²¹

The first scene, to the left, shows the patient standing with his hands held fast by a man behind him. Squatting before him is the operator, a *ḥm-kꜣ* 'ka-servant', who rubs the member with what appears to be a stone. It has been suggested that this is probably 'the stone of Memphis', mentioned by Dioscorides and Pliny, formed of carbonate of lime which when wetted with an acid produces an analgesic effect.²²² The operation itself is then performed without any apparent pain. Addressing his assistant the operator says: *ndr sw m rdj dbꜣ.f* 'Hold him fast. Do not let him faint/resist',²²³ to which he answers: *jrj.j r ḥzt.k* 'I will do as you wish'. The operation is described as *sbt*, translated as 'circumcision'.²²⁴ In the second scene, to the right, the patient stands unrestrained and addresses the operator saying: *sjn wnnt r mnḥ* 'Sever, indeed, thoroughly'. The operator who applies his knife responds: *jw(.j) r jrt r ndm* 'I will proceed comfortably'.²²⁵ An alternative interpretation of these scenes is that the one to the right is actually the first stage of circumcision, the cutting of the foreskin, while the scene to the left shows the operator applying ointments to the wound, hence the pain.²²⁶

The scene has recently been examined by M. Spiegelman, consultant surgeon, who has concluded that it probably does not represent an ordinary circumcision procedure but rather the treatment of paraphimosis. In this condition a swollen and infected foreskin retracts into the coronal sulcus and cannot be returned, interfering with the blood supply to the penis which may become gangrenous and may prove fatal. According to Spiegelman, the first step of the operation, the left-hand scene, depicts an attempt to reduce a paraphimosis or to dilate a constricted phimosis, a

²¹⁷ Montet suggests that these scenes certainly do not represent circumcision (*Vie privée*, 372).

²¹⁸ It does occur again at Karnak (Pillet, *ASAE* 52 [1954], 93ff., fig. 5).

²¹⁹ Despite the fact that the tomb is locally known as the 'tomb of the physician'.

²²⁰ Badawy, *Ḥm-kꜣ*, 19.

²²¹ Ghalioungui, *Physicians*, 11; Bailey, *BACE* 7 [1996], 15ff.

²²² Badawy, *Ḥm-kꜣ*, 19; also Bailey, *BACE* 7 [1996], 15ff.

²²³ Badawy, *Ḥm-kꜣ* 19; Montet, *Vie privée*, 372.

²²⁴ The word is unattested, but is similar to the Coptic *sebbe* 'to circumcise' (Badawy, *Ḥm-kꜣ*, 19).

²²⁵ Montet renders it 'J'opererai sans douleur' (*Vie privée*, 372).

²²⁶ Pillet, *ASAE* 52 [1954], 98-99.

very painful procedure which could well cause loss of consciousness. Accordingly, the operating ka-servant addresses an assistant who restrains the patient saying, 'Hold him fast. Do not let him faint'. The word *sbt* might refer to this operation. The scene to the right probably depicts circumcision, for this step was necessary to prevent recurrence of paraphimosis.²²⁷

The upper register shows two operators, seated on very low stools, one probably massaging the leg of a customer and the second the back and shoulders of another.

WEST THICKNESS

Two registers are preserved, both depicting manicure, pedicure and/or some manipulation of fingers and toes. The theme is uncommon,²²⁸ and so far is undocumented outside Saqqara.²²⁹ The earliest known example is found in the joint tomb of *Nj-ḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* who, both being manicurists of the palace,²³⁰ might have introduced such a theme. One wonders if the circumcision scene, on the opposite thickness, was also somewhat inspired by the scene of shaving of the pubic hair in the tomb of *Nj-ḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*.²³¹

The bottom register shows two scenes; at the left the operator handles the thumb of the customer who says: *jr nw dj ḥp[š]* 'Do this. Put strength', while in the second scene the operator handles the toe of the customer who says: *m rdj mr n nw* 'Do not cause pain to this'. The answer of the two operators, written between them, is the same: *jr.j r ḥzt.k jtjw* 'I will do as you wish, sovereign'. Above in a sub register is a row of tables/stands. In the top register a customer has his hands treated by two separate operators. His instructions are partly damaged: ... *tn ḥn.tn m ḥḥ* '..., by your life'. The operator to the left responds: ... *nḏm mrjj* '... comfortable, dear'.²³²

Room VI

This pillared hall is the largest room in the chapel. The eastern part of the hall forms a separate alcove of which the entrance is defined by two engaged pillars, one attached to each of the north and south walls, and one free-standing pillar in the centre and aligned with the other pillars of the hall. Although they probably formed a distinct section in the hall, in the description of scenes the walls of this alcove will be treated as extensions to the walls of the main hall.

²²⁷ Our appreciation goes to Mr. Mark Spiegelman for this interpretation of the scene which will be presented in an article in *BACE* 8, forthcoming.

²²⁸ Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 24, fig. 10; Paget - Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pls. 35, 36; James, *Khentika*, pl. 11.

²²⁹ Harpur, *Decoration*, 112.

²³⁰ Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, passim.

²³¹ Ibid, fig. 10. The interpretation of the circumcision scene in *ḥḥ-m-ḥr*'s tomb as perhaps representing the shaving of public hair (see Nunn, *Medicine*, 170-71) seems unlikely considering the way the penis is held by the operator and the position of the knife near the foreskin.

²³² For translation of *mrjj* 'dear' see Montet, *Vie privée*, 372. James, however, takes *mrjj* to be a name (*Khentika*, 46 [75]). If this is correct the manicurist in the tombs of *ḥḥ-m-ḥr* and *ḥntj-k3.j* may have been the same individual.

SOUTH WALL - WEST OF DOORWAY

Pls. 20a, 56, 57a

A small section of the wall scenes is preserved immediately to the west of the doorway to the room. Part of the lower registers depict a funerary procession where the bier, in both registers, is placed on beams carried by men, accompanied by a woman labelled in the lower register as: *ḏrjt* 'mourner'. The deceased is identified, above the bier in the bottom register as: ... *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr rn.f nfr Zzj* '... Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi'. Three men in the same register are also identified by their titles, but not names, as: *jmj-r sḏwtj(w)-ntr* 'the overseer of the seal-bearers of the god' who carries a staff and sceptre, *wt Jnpw* 'the embalmer of Anubis' and *ḥrj-ḥbt* 'the lector priest'. While funerary rites and particularly the transportation of the coffin by land or water are rather frequently shown in Old Kingdom tombs,²³³ scenes of grief and lamentation such as are shown here are rare. The scene in the tomb of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* is so similar to that in the neighbouring tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j*²³⁴ that one of them almost certainly has influenced the other. If the present dating of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* to a slightly earlier time than *Mrrw-k3.j* is correct,²³⁵ this grieving scene would be the earliest known. The theme is represented also in the tomb of *Jdw* at Giza,²³⁶ which is very close in date to the abovementioned tombs,²³⁷ but does not appear again for the rest of the Old Kingdom.²³⁸

At the east end is a structure, from which the procession seems to have started. Above this is written: *prt m pr n ḏt r jmnt nfrt* 'going forth from the estate to the beautiful west'.²³⁹ The mourners are therefore following the official procession. Fifteen women are in an extreme state of grief, hitting their faces and heads, raising their arms in despair, sitting on the ground or collapsing and being helped by companions. Two women standing probably inside the structure shout: *j jt(.j) nb(.j) jm3jj* 'Oh my father, my lord, the kind one'.²⁴⁰ Of particular interest are the woman in the centre of the group, who appears to be pregnant, and the one behind her who is tearing her dress in desperation.²⁴¹ Eleven men, depicted in a sub register above and perhaps indicating the segregation of sexes in grief, are also shown in a state of deep sorrow. They are beating their heads, pulling their hair, gesturing with their hands, comforting each other, crouching on the ground, one even fainting and being supported by companions. The man in the centre with both

²³³ Harpur, *Decoration*, 113. The most developed and complete of these scenes is found in the tomb of *Ppjj-ḥnḥ/Hnjj-km* (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 42-43).

²³⁴ Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 130-31.

²³⁵ Strudwick, *Administration*, 100-101.

²³⁶ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35.

²³⁷ Strudwick, *Administration*, 69-70.

²³⁸ The theme is depicted in the tomb of *Jtj* of Gebelein from the First Intermediate Period (Harpur, *Decoration*, 113; Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 85a).

²³⁹ Montet, *Vie privée*, 383ff. On the term *pr n ḏt* see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 210-11 and passim.

²⁴⁰ In the tomb of *Jdw* two separate shouts are recorded: *j jt(.j)* ... and *j nb(.j)* ... (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35). For a different reading see Badawy, *Ankhmahor*, 41.

²⁴¹ The last detail is also found in the grieving scene in the mastaba of *Mrrw-k3.j* (Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 130-31).

arms raised to his head seems, like the representations of the pregnant woman and the one tearing her dress, to focus the attention on the centre of the mourning group. He is designated as: *šḥd sdwtj(w) Špss-Pth* 'the superintendent of the seal-bearers, Shepses-Ptah', and the man behind him as: *ḥm-k3 Z-n-bšj* 'the ka-servant, Senbeshi'. Badawy comments on the variation in the expression of grief and writes that 'despite this realistic depiction, the atmosphere is still dignified, unlike that created by the more realistic hysterical gesturing of mourners in wall scenes from the New Kingdom'.²⁴²

An isolated block with weathered scenes and inscriptions has been restored, perhaps to its correct position,²⁴³ in the upper part of the western end of the south wall. This shows the top of the head of a large figure, almost certainly that of the tomb owner, with six vertical lines of hieroglyphs above him which read: (1) *m33 spr ḥw(w) n ...* (2) *jnnw n.f m njwwt.f nt Šm^c ...* (3) *jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt* (4) *hrj-tp nswt jmj-r ḥwt-wrt* (5) *jmj-r zšwj n*²⁴⁴ *šlmḥ-jb* (6) *ḥm-m-ḥr rn.f nfr Z[zj]*²⁴⁵ '(1) viewing the arrival of the fleet of ... (2) which are brought for him from his towns of the South ..., (3) the overseer of all the works of the king, (4) the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, (5) the overseer of the two fowl pools of recreation, (6) Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi'.

Opposite the tomb owner are the remains of the two registers depicting the ships he received. In the upper register the double mast of the ship is down, lying flat on the cabin, and the officer in the prow bows in courtesy. The lower register probably contained another ship, although nothing of this now remains. In the prow a man, labelled *smsw whrt* 'the elder of the dockyard', bows in front of *ḥm-m-ḥr*. A second man with the same attitude turns his head backwards probably addressing others, but only a few words of his speech are preserved: ... *nw n jw3 ... Zzj* '... these oxen ... Sesi', which might indicate the nature of the shipment.²⁴⁶

SOUTH WALL - EAST OF DOORWAY

Pls. 20b, 58

All the bottom register and the lower section of the register above it are preserved. The latter shows the feet of the tomb owner seated on a chair with lion's legs and probably holding the staff. In front of him are two female dancers, wearing anklets,²⁴⁷ performing a slow movement on the clapping(?) of a third person with the label *ḥst(?)* 'making rhythm'.

²⁴² *ḤAnkhmahor*, 41.

²⁴³ Compare with the south wall of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s pillared hall (Chamber A13) where a similar funerary scene to that of *ḥm-m-ḥr* is also associated with some forms of river activities (Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 127-37).

²⁴⁴ A rectangular area was left in raised relief for the writing of the letter *n*, but the details of this were never achieved.

²⁴⁵ The space below the sign *nfr* does not show the beginning of *Zzj*'s name which was inscribed before his face rather than behind his head.

²⁴⁶ For similar boats and loads see Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 53:1; Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 6.

²⁴⁷ These are not two boys as suggested by Badawy (*ḤAnkhmahor*, 39). At El-Hawawish, where an influence from the Teti Cemetery is obvious, women with short kilts performing similar

In the bottom register five girls, each wearing a very short kilt, anklets, bracelets and a pigtail with a disk, are performing a high kicking dance to the clapping rhythm of two women. Each of the clappers is said to be *hst* 'making rhythm',²⁴⁸ while each of the dancers is labelled: *jb* 'dancing'. The dancers stand on one leg with the torso thrown backwards while the other leg as well as the two arms are stretched forward to balance the torso's weight.²⁴⁹ The same movement is shown in a limited number of tombs at Saqqara, all dating from the reign of Teti or immediately after. The dancers in the mastaba of *K3-gm-n.j* have the leg on which they stand bent at the knee, resulting in an imbalanced posture where the weight of the whole body above the knee is thrown backwards without forward compensation.²⁵⁰ The artist responsible for the same scene in *ʿnh-m-ʿHr*'s tomb produced a much more balanced movement by representing the leg on which the dancer stands straight and the torso at an angle. A similar posture is found in *Mhw*'s chapel,²⁵¹ which may have been influenced by that of *ʿnh-m-ʿHr*.²⁵²

NORTH WALL

Pl. 57b

The lower part of the bottom register in the eastern alcove is preserved although badly weathered. This shows the care and feeding of three oxen by four drovers under the supervision of an overseer who holds a staff.

EAST WALL

Pl. 59a

The lower section of the south end is all that remains of this wall. Preserved are the legs of a standing figure of the tomb owner who wears sandals and a panther's skin. Behind him in an upper register are the legs of two individuals, the name of the first of whom ends in a *w*, perhaps *Tmrw*, the tomb owner's brother. Two men are also depicted in the bottom register. The first, in a projecting kilt and shoulder-length wig, is designated in a vertical column in front of his figure as: *z3.f n ht.f smsw smr wtj Jšfj* 'his eldest son of his body, the sole companion, Ishfi'. The figure and inscriptions related to the second man have been chiselled out, yet some lines of his body and the letter ...*f*, perhaps for *z3.f* 'his son', can be

steps are shown near the high kicking dancers (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12; vol. 2, fig. 22).

²⁴⁸ Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, 162.

²⁴⁹ For a description of the movement see Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 23-24; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 396ff.

²⁵⁰ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 53. The rather more balanced postures in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* (Wreszinski, *Atlas* 3, 28; Van Lepp, *Akten des Vierten IÄK* 3, 386 fig. 1; personal examination) and the later ones at El-Hawawish (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12; vol. 2, fig. 22; vol. 8, fig. 10) seem to combine features from the scenes in both *K3-gm-n.j* and *ʿnh-m-ʿHr*.

²⁵¹ *Egypt - Paintings*, pl. 9; and personal examination.

²⁵² Based on the presence of the cartouche of Pepy I in *Mhw*'s titles the mastaba is now dated to the reign of that king, e.g., Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 34; Strudwick, *Administration*, 101-102; Harpur, *Decoration*, 40-41. This date remains the most likely pending the full publication of the tomb.

m-ε-Hr's son, was left unfinished. Although the hieroglyphs are executed in sunken relief, they lack internal details and the lintels, panel and drum are uninscribed. One figure of the owner is depicted at the bottom of each of the inner jambs and two figures on each of the outer jambs. With one exception, they all wear the shoulder-length wig and the projecting kilt and hold the staff and sceptre. The right figure on the right outer jamb wears a tight kilt and has the arms by the side with no staff or sceptre.

FALSE DOOR

Left Outer Jamb: *smr wεtj jmj-r sqbbwj jmj-r šwj pr-ε jmj-r šnwtj hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt štt nt nswt jmj-r prwj-ḥd jmšḥw hr Wsjr smr wεtj hrj-ḥbt jmj-r sqbbwj pr-ε Twtw* 'the sole companion, the overseer of the two cool chambers, the overseer of the two pools of the palace, the overseer of the two granaries, he who is privy to the secrets of all secret commands of the king, the overseer of the two-treasuries, the honoured one before Osiris, the sole companion, the lector priest, the overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace, Tutu'.

Right Outer Jamb: *smr wεtj jmj-r sqbbwj pr-ε jmj-r jεw-r nswt hrj-sšt3 n pr dwst jmj-r sḏmt nbt hrj-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt jmj-r šttj ḥtp(t) jmšḥw hr Jnpw smr wεtj hrj-ḥbt jmj-r sqbbwj pr-ε Jšfj* 'the sole companion, the overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace, the overseer of the king's breakfast, he who is privy to the secrets of the house of morning, the overseer of all hearings, he who is privy to the secrets of the king in his every place, the overseer of the two fields of offerings, the honoured one before Anubis, the sole companion, the lector priest, the overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace, Ishfi'.

Left Inner Jamb: *smr wεtj jmj-r zšwj jmj-r jεw-r nswt hrj-ḥbt smr wεtj jmj-r šn t3 nb smr wεtj jmšḥw hr nṯr smr wεtj hrj-ḥbt jmj-r sqbbwj pr-ε Twtw* 'the sole companion, the overseer of the two fowl pools, the overseer of the king's breakfast, the lector priest, the sole companion, the overseer of all vegetation, the sole companion, the honoured one before the god, the sole companion, the lector priest, the overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace, Tutu'.

Right Inner Jamb: *smr wεtj jmj-r b3w n šḥmḥ-jb hrj-ḥbt smr wεtj jmj-r djdjt pt qm3t (t3) jmšḥw hr nṯr smr wεtj hrj-ḥbt jmj-r sqbbwj pr-ε Jšfj* 'the sole companion, the overseer of the galley of recreation, the lector priest, the sole companion, the overseer of that which heaven gives and earth produces, the honoured one before the god, the sole companion, the lector priest, the overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace, Ishfi'.

Burial Chamber

Cut to the west of the shaft in poor rock formation the walls of the burial chamber were lined with limestone slabs, approximately 20cm. thick. Similar slabs were also used to block the opening between the shaft and the burial chamber, leaving only a small doorway closed after the burial with a blocking stone. The constructed wall forms a major part of the east wall of the burial chamber, but part of the top row of blocks has collapsed inside the chamber. This occurred before the burial

apartment was first cleared by Firth and Gunn,²⁵³ probably caused by the pressure of the shaft filling rather than by tomb robbers who were able to gain entry to the chamber by simply removing the blocking stone.

Many of the lining slabs are now rather unstable, with the joints bulging outwards. This has resulted in movements in the lines of some registers and figures, particularly in the centre of the east wall where the sections of the offering list inscribed on the fallen blocks are difficult to fit with those inscribed on the existing wall. All wall surfaces above the dado were decorated. The outlines were executed in shallow and rather crude incisions, while the internal details of the figures, signs and friezes were filled with colours, which have considerably deteriorated since they were first discovered.²⁵⁴ The surfaces of the sarcophagus and its lid are even less smooth than those of the walls. Nevertheless, they are decorated with hieroglyphic text, *wꜣdt*-eyes and a pattern of panels, all in incised lines filled with pigments.

The sarcophagus lid is still in position over the chest, with the plaster between the two intact. However, the sarcophagus had been violated through a break, 70cm. at its widest part, which damaged the *wꜣdt*-eyes depicted on the east face of the chest. While *Kꜣ-gm-nj* and possibly *Nfr-sšm-Pth*²⁵⁵ used a wooden coffin, it is uncertain whether the body of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr* rested in a wooden coffin placed inside the stone sarcophagus.²⁵⁶ No traces of wood were found inside the chest, and the size of the hole made by tomb robbers does not allow for the removal of a coffin unless it was completely dismantled. In two recently excavated tombs in the Teti Cemetery the owners' skeletal remains were found in the correct anatomical position inside violated stone sarcophagi which contained no wooden coffins.²⁵⁷

With the exception of the north wall of the burial chamber where the scene is not divided into registers and the main part of the east wall which contains five registers, the wall scenes are arranged in four registers, not of equal height, which occupy the surface from the ceiling to approximately 80cm. from the floor.

EAST WALL

Pls. 23-25, 26c, 63, 64, 67a

The northern section of the chamber expands to the east, giving the appearance of an alcove.²⁵⁸ In the description of wall scenes this will be considered as a

²⁵³ *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 16-18.

²⁵⁴ See photographs in *ibid* 2, pl. 6, reproduced in the present volume. Some of the detailed decoration of jars, which are clear in these photographs, have now deteriorated and are omitted in our line drawings.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid* 1, 18, 21.

²⁵⁶ As stated for example by Firth and Gunn (*ibid*, 16) and Badawy (*ꜥAnkhmꜥahor*, 43).

²⁵⁷ These are the bodies of *Nꜣt-m-pt*, *Mrrw-kꜣ.j*'s mother (Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 25) and *Ttj-ꜥnh*, possibly a son or a grandson of king Teti (unpublished; information courtesy of Dr. Zahi Hawass). James also found some bones, but apparently no wood in the sarcophagus of *Hntj-kꜣ.j* (*Khentika*, 32).

²⁵⁸ It is interesting to compare this alcove with that in the eastern section of room VI of the chapel. Room VI is also the northernmost part of the chapel.


continuation of the east wall. The main part of the east wall south of the alcove will be described first, followed by the narrow E-W strip of wall, and finally the northern part of the wall.

A line of text identifying the owner runs above the doorway as follows: *jmj-r k3t*²⁵⁹ *nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f hrj-tp nswt jmj-r hwt-wrt hrj-s3t3 n nswt m s(w)t.f nbt 3nh-m-3-Hr rn.f nfr Zzj* 'the overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, he who is privy to the secrets of the king in all his places, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi'.

Below this line is an offering list arranged into two registers of fifty-two compartments each. While the compartments list items of food and drink, the first and last in the second register contain the inscription: *n Zzj*²⁶⁰ *n k3.f* 'for Sesi and for his ka'. Beneath each item is a small rectangle where the number required was written. These numbers, as well as some of the outlines of the compartments and rectangles, were drawn in black with no incisions and have now disappeared.²⁶¹ The offering list is of the usual type (A) common in Dynasty 6.²⁶²

Register I:

1. *mw z(3)t* 'water for libation'
2. *sdt [sntr]* 'lighted incense'
3. *stj-hb* 'stj-hb-oil'
4. *hknw* 'hknw-oil'
5. *sft* 'sft-oil'
6. *nhnm* 'nhnm-oil'
7. *tw3wt* 'tw3wt-oil'
8. *h3tt nt*²⁶³ 3š 'best cedar oil'
9. *h3tt nt thnw* 'best Libyan oil'
10. 3rf²⁶⁴ *w3dw* 'a bag of green paint'
11. 3rf *msd(t)*²⁶⁵ 'a bag of black paint'
12. *wnhwj* 'pair of cloth strips'
13. *sdt [snt]r* 'lighted incense'
14. *qblw t3wj* 'libation water and two balls of natron'
15. *h3t* 'offering table'
16. *[htpw] nswt* 'royal offerings'
17. *htpw jmj [wsh3t]* 'offerings which are in the *wsh3t*-hall'
18. *hms* 'sit down'
19. 3šns '3šns-bread'
20. *dwjw* 'jug'

²⁵⁹ In an attempt to eliminate figures of living humans and animals in the burial chamber,  was replaced by ∇ as determinative for *k3t*.

²⁶⁰ *n Zzj* is missing in the inscription to the left.

²⁶¹ These were more visible when first cleared (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 94-95).

²⁶² Barta, *Opferliste*, 47ff., 83ff. The suggestion that the draughtsman marked a rectangle, divided it into small rectangles and inscribed items by selection or repetitions or by extraneous entries (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96 n.2) is unjustified.

²⁶³ *h3tt nt* is written once for both items 8 and 9.

²⁶⁴ 3rf is written once for both items 10 and 11.


²⁶⁵ *msdt* is an Old Egyptian spelling of *msdmt* (James, *Khentika*, 63).

21. *t-wt* 'wt-bread'
22. *t-rt[h]* 'rt[h]-bread'
23. *šn(s)*²⁶⁶ *ε* [f]jt 'šns-bread and serving bowl'
24. *nmst*²⁶⁷ *ḏsrt* 'a jug of *ḏsrt*-beer'
25. *nmst* *h[nq]t* [*hn*]ms 'a jug of *hnms*-beer'
- 26-27 *šn(s)* *ḏwjw n* [*š*]bw 'šns-bread and jug for main meal'
28. *jr šbw pw* 'it is what makes a meal'²⁶⁸
29. *swt* 'piece of meat'
30. *εwj mw* 'two bowls of water'
31. *εwj [bd]* 'two bowls of natron'
32. *šns ...*²⁶⁹ 'šns-bread'
33. *ḏwjw ...* 'jug ...'
34. *t-wt* 'wt-bread'
35. *t-[rth]*²⁷⁰ '[rth]-bread'
36. *hṯw* 'hṯw-bread'
37. *nḥrw* 'nḥrw-bread'
38. *dp(t)w* 'dp(t)w-bread'
39. *pz(n)* 'pz(n)-bread'
40. *šn(s)* 'šn(s)-bread'
41. *t-jmj-t3* 'jmj-t3-bread'
42. *εwj h[n]fw* 'h[n]fw-bread, two bowls'
43. *hbnwt* 'hbnwt-bread, two'
44. *qmḥ[w q]m3* 'qmḥ[w q]m3-bread'
45. *jd[3t] h3k* 'jd[3t] h3k-bread'
46. *[p3]wt* '[p3]wt-bread'
47. *t-3šr*²⁷¹ '3šr-bread'
48. *hḏw εwj* 'onions, two bowls'
49. *hps* 'foreleg'
50. *zh(n)* 'kidney'
51. *swt* 'piece of meat'
52. *sphṯ spr* 'rib-cut'

Register II:

53. [*n Zzj*] *n k3.f* 'for Sesi and for his ka' (see above)
54. *3šrt* 'roasted piece of meat, two'
55. *mjzt* 'liver'
56. *nnšm* 'spleen'
57. *hε* 'piece of meat'
58. *jwf n h3t* 'fillet, two'
59. *r*²⁷² 'r-goose'
60. *trp* 'trp-goose'

²⁶⁶ For the writing of *šns* as *šn* see Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96.


²⁶⁷ *nmst* shows a badly written  (Gardiner, T35).

²⁶⁸ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96.

²⁶⁹ Items 32 and 33 are usually followed by *n jεw-r* 'for breakfast' (Barta, *Opferliste*, 48 Nr. 19). This also appears in the earlier copy (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 95 Nos. 32, 33).

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 95 No. 35.

²⁷¹ *3šr* is written as *š3r*, and the shape of the *r* is unusual.

²⁷² The  in this entry is unusual.

61. *zt* 'zt-goose'
62. *sr* 'sr-goose'
63. *mnwt* 'pigeon'
64. *t-zf*²⁷³ 'zf bread'
65. *št* 'št-bread, two'
66. *npst* 'npst-bread, two'
67. *mzt* 'mzt-bread, two'
68. *dsrt* beverage, two
69. *dsrt jstt* 'milky dsrt-beverage, two'
70. *hnqt* 'beer, two'
71. *hnqt hn(m)s* 'hnms-beer, two'
72. *shpt* 'shpt-beverage, two'
73. *phz* 'phz-beverage, two'
74. *dwjw sšr* 'jug of sšr-beverage'
75. *dzb* 'fig, two'
76. *jrp* 'wine, two'
77. *bš jrp* 'bš-wine, two'
78. *jrp jmtj* 'jmtj-wine, two'
79. *jrp znw* 'znw-wine'
80. *jrp hmw* 'hmw-wine, two'
81. *hnfw wj* 'hnfw-bread, two bowls'
82. *hbnnwt wj* 'hbnnwt-bread, two bowls'
83. *jšd wj* 'jšd-fruit, two bowls'
84. *šht hdt wj* 'white šht-fruit, two bowls'
85. *šht wšdt wj* 'green šht-fruit, two bowls'
86. *gt zwt* 'special preparation of wheat, two'
87. *gt jt* 'special preparation of barley, two'
88. *bšbwšwt* 'bšbwšwt-fruit, two'
89. *nbs wj* 'nbs-fruit, two bowls'
90. *t-nbs*²⁷⁴ 'nbs-bread, two'
91. *wšh wj* 'carob beans, two bowls'
92. *ht nb(t) bnrt* 'every sweet thing'
93. *rnpt nbt* 'all year-offerings'
94. *hnkt*²⁷⁵ 'hnkt-offerings'
95. *gsw* 'half-loaves'
96. *phr* 'phr-offerings'
97. *stp(t)* 'the choice things'
98. *hst wdhw* 'the best of the offering table'
99. *jt t(w) hms r ht wj...s* 'wash yourself, sit down to the meal ...'²⁷⁶
100. *jnt rd sd dšrt* 'bringing the broom,²⁷⁷ breaking the red vessels'²⁷⁸

²⁷³ Usually transliterated as *t-zjf*, but the *j* is frequently missing (Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 15 no. 43).

²⁷⁴ The writing of *nbs* as *nsb* is met again in the mastabas of *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j* (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96, 125, 145).

²⁷⁵ *hnkt* is written as *hknt*.

²⁷⁶ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96.

²⁷⁷ For this reading see Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 [1971], 146-53. For the reading 'removing the footprint' see Nelson, *JEA* 35 [1949], 82ff.

²⁷⁸ Blackman, *Meir* 4, 50.

101. *wdb htp nswt s(w)bt qbhwt* 'reversion of the king's offering, purification (by) water'²⁷⁹
 102. *mw z(3)t* 'water for libation'
 103. *sdt sntr* 'lighted incense'
 104. *n Zzj n k3.f* 'for Sesi and for his ka'
 Numbers 99-101 list certain ceremonies related to the meals and are not usually included in offering lists.

To the right of the offering list are two registers. The top one contains five heaps of grain labelled as: 1) *ph3 šm* 'Upper Egyptian *ph3*-grain', 2) *ph3 mh* 'Lower Egyptian *ph3*-grain', 3) *jt*²⁸⁰ 'barley', 4) *zwt* 'wheat', 5) *bš3* 'bš3-grain'. The rest of the register is occupied by six granaries.

The second register contains seven heaps of fruits, named as follows: 1) *wch* 'carob beans', 2) *sšpt 3r(r)t* 'grapes', 3) *nbs* 'nbs-fruit', 4) *jšd* 'jšd-fruit', 5) *t-nbs* 'nbs-fruit cake', 6) *d3b* 'figs', 7) *šht* 'šht-fruit'.

The lower part of the wall is occupied by three registers, interrupted by the doorway, depicting stacks of food and drink in jars, containers, trays and on stands and tables. Slaughtered animals are abundantly represented, each with its severed foreleg on top. Nine of these animals are labelled *rn jw3* 'young ox', one *rn n jw3 jmj mdt* 'young ox belonging to the stall', one *rn m3-ḥd* 'young oryx', one *rn m3-ḥd jmj mdt* 'young oryx belonging to the stall' and two *rn gh3* 'young gazelle'. It is interesting to notice that the artist was not rigorous in representing the different characteristics of each animal and that the scribe made at least one error in his identification of these animals. The second animal from right in the third register is described as *rn jw3* 'young ox', yet its tail and possibly horn suggest a gazelle like the fifth animal from right in the bottom register.


The continuation of the east wall in the alcove is divided into four registers, alternating between the depiction of stacks of food and drink and those of slaughtered animals. The latter are identified as: one *rn jw3* 'young ox', three *rn n jw3* 'young ox', one *rn n m3-ḥd*²⁸¹ 'young oryx', and one *rn n m3-ḥd jmj mdt* 'young oryx belonging to the stall'.

The narrow E-W strip of wall connecting the two sections of the east wall show four registers with two jars each. These are labelled as: *jrp(t)*²⁸² 'wine', *dsrt* 'dsrt-beer', *jrp* 'wine' and *shp(t)* 'shpt-beverage'.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 50-51.

²⁸⁰ Not *mh* as copied by Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96.

²⁸¹ Notice the writing of *ḥd* in *m3-ḥd*.

²⁸² The *t* may be an error for the determinative .

61. *zt* 'zt-goose'
62. *sr* 'sr-goose'
63. *mnwt* 'pigeon'
64. *t-zf*²⁷³ 'zfbread'
65. *š't* 'š't-bread, two'
66. *np̄t* 'np̄t-bread, two'
67. *mzt* 'mzt-bread, two'
68. *dsrt* beverage, two
69. *dsrt j̄tt* 'milky *dsrt*-beverage, two'
70. *hnqt* 'beer, two'
71. *hnqt hn(m)s* 'hnms-beer, two'
72. *sh̄pt* 'sh̄pt-beverage, two'
73. *ph̄z* 'ph̄z-beverage, two'
74. *dwjw s̄sr* 'jug of s̄sr-beverage'
75. *d̄zb* 'fig, two'
76. *jrp* 'wine, two'
77. *ʿbš jrp* 'ʿbš-wine, two'
78. *jrp jmtj* 'jmtj-wine, two'
79. *jrp znw* 'znw-wine'
80. *jrp h̄mw* 'h̄mw-wine, two'
81. *hnfw ʿwj* 'hnfw-bread, two bowls'
82. *hbnnwt ʿwj* 'hbnnwt-bread, two bowls'
83. *jšd ʿwj* 'jšd-fruit, two bowls'
84. *sh̄t h̄dt ʿwj* 'white *sh̄t*-fruit, two bowls'
85. *sh̄t w̄dt ʿwj* 'green *sh̄t*-fruit, two bowls'
86. *ʿgt zwt* 'special preparation of wheat, two'
87. *ʿgt jt* 'special preparation of barley, two'
88. *b̄b̄wt* 'b̄b̄wt-fruit, two'
89. *nbs ʿwj* 'nbs-fruit, two bowls'
90. *t-nbs*²⁷⁴ 'nbs-bread, two'
91. *wʿh ʿwj* 'carob beans, two bowls'
92. *h̄t nb(t) bnrt* 'every sweet thing'
93. *rnpt nbt* 'all year-offerings'
94. *hnkt*²⁷⁵ 'hnkt-offerings'
95. *gsw* 'half-loaves'
96. *phr* 'phr-offerings'
97. *stp(t)* 'the choice things'
98. *h̄st wd̄h(w)* 'the best of the offering table'
99. *j̄s t(w) h̄ms r h̄t ʿwj...s* 'wash yourself, sit down to the meal ...'²⁷⁶
100. *jnt rd s̄d d̄šrt* 'bringing the broom,²⁷⁷ breaking the red vessels'²⁷⁸

²⁷³ Usually transliterated as *t-zjf*, but the *j* is frequently missing (Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 15 no. 43).

²⁷⁴ The writing of *nbs* as *nsb* is met again in the mastabas of *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j* (Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96, 125, 145).

²⁷⁵ *hnkt* is written as *hknt*.

²⁷⁶ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96.

²⁷⁷ For this reading see Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 [1971], 146-53. For the reading 'removing the footprint' see Nelson, *JEA* 35 [1949], 82ff.

²⁷⁸ Blackman, *Meir* 4, 50.

101. *wdb htp nswt s(w)bt qbh^w* 'reversion of the king's offering, purification (by) water'²⁷⁹
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 103. *sdt sntr* 'lighted incense'
 104. *n Zzj n k3.f* 'for Sesi and for his ka'
 Numbers 99-101 list certain ceremonies related to the meals and are not usually included in offering lists.

To the right of the offering list are two registers. The top one contains five heaps of grain labelled as: 1) *ph3 šm^c* 'Upper Egyptian *ph3*-grain', 2) *ph3 mh* 'Lower Egyptian *ph3*-grain', 3) *jt*²⁸⁰ 'barley', 4) *zwt* 'wheat', 5) *bš3* 'bš3-grain'. The rest of the register is occupied by six granaries.

The second register contains seven heaps of fruits, named as follows: 1) *w^ch* 'carob beans', 2) *sšpt 3r(r)t* 'grapes', 3) *nbs* 'nbs-fruit', 4) *jšd* 'jšd-fruit', 5) *t-nbs* 'nbs-fruit cake', 6) *d3b* 'figs', 7) *šht* 'šht-fruit'.

The lower part of the wall is occupied by three registers, interrupted by the doorway, depicting stacks of food and drink in jars, containers, trays and on stands and tables. Slaughtered animals are abundantly represented, each with its severed foreleg on top. Nine of these animals are labelled *rn jw3* 'young ox', one *rn n jw3 jmj mdt* 'young ox belonging to the stall', one *rn m3-ḥd* 'young oryx', one *rn m3-ḥd jmj mdt* 'young oryx belonging to the stall' and two *rn gḥs* 'young gazelle'. It is interesting to notice that the artist was not rigorous in representing the different characteristics of each animal and that the scribe made at least one error in his identification of these animals. The second animal from right in the third register is described as *rn jw3* 'young ox', yet its tail and possibly horn suggest a gazelle like the fifth animal from right in the bottom register.


The continuation of the east wall in the alcove is divided into four registers, alternating between the depiction of stacks of food and drink and those of slaughtered animals. The latter are identified as: one *rn jw3* 'young ox', three *rn n jw3* 'young ox', one *rn n m3-ḥd*²⁸¹ 'young oryx', and one *rn n m3-ḥd jmj mdt* 'young oryx belonging to the stall'.

The narrow E-W strip of wall connecting the two sections of the east wall show four registers with two jars each. These are labelled as: *jrp(t)*²⁸² 'wine', *dsrt* 'dsrt-beer', *jrp* 'wine' and *šhp(t)* 'šhpt-beverage'.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 50-51.

²⁸⁰ Not *mh* as copied by Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 96.

²⁸¹ Notice the writing of *ḥd* in *m3-ḥd*.

²⁸² The *t* may be an error for the determinative .

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 27, 65

The wall scenes are divided into four registers, interrupted by a deep niche probably for the canopic jars.²⁸³ The upper register contains a jar, a chest labelled *sšr nswt* 'royal linen', a jar labelled *jrp* 'wine', another chest containing *tp ʕj* 'the best of ʕj-cloth'.²⁸⁴ These are followed by some ornaments, a broad collar and two pairs of pendants. Similar objects carried by offering bearers are depicted on the south thickness of the doorway between rooms III-V. Of particular interest are the two pendants terminating at each end in a uraeus. This last detail, executed only in painting, has almost disappeared, but was clear when the chamber was first cleared.²⁸⁵ In the second register are a chest containing *sšrw* 'linen', two jars with the caption *ḥknw*-oil, a chest labelled *šmʕt nfrt* 'fine *šmʕt*-linen'.²⁸⁶ The third register contains two jars of *stj-ḥb*-oil, one chest, a jar with *sft*-oil and a chest containing *sntr n zt* 'incense for odour'. The bottom register has badly suffered and its inscriptions are in certain parts illegible. These are however clearer in the earlier record and photograph.²⁸⁷ The register contains a jar, a chest, three jars labelled *ḥstt nt ʕš* 'best cedar oil', [*twzwt*-oil, *nḥnm*-oil], a chest described as *hn [s]št* 'secret box', three jars labelled as [*sft*-oil, *ḥknw*-oil], [*stj-ḥb*-oil], and another chest described as *hn sšt* 'secret box'.

WEST WALL, SOUTH OF SARCOPHAGUS RECESS

Pls. 26a, 66

Divided into four registers this wall contains jars of different shapes, two of which are said to contain *ḥknw*-oil, a ewer in basin described as of *ḏʕm* 'fine gold', chests of different sizes and numerous bags tied at the top.

WEST WALL, NORTH OF SARCOPHAGUS RECESS

Pls. 26b, 67b

Five registers depict chests and jars. In the fourth register two of the jars are labelled: *shpt*-beverage and *dsrt*-beverage, while in the bottom register seven jars contain: 1) *stj-ḥb*-oil, 2) *ḥknw*-oil, 3) *sft*-oil, 4) *nḥnm*-oil, 5) *twzwt*-oil, 6) *ḥstt nt ʕš* 'best cedar oil', 7) *ḥstt nt tḥnw* 'best Libyan oil'.

²⁸³ A similar niche is found in the south wall of *Hntj-k3.j*'s burial chamber (James, *Khentika*, 30).

²⁸⁴ Ibid, 61, pl. 34.

²⁸⁵ Similar pendants with no apparent, or at least preserved, uraei are depicted on the south wall of the burial chamber of *Hntj-k3.j* (ibid, pl. 38).

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 61.

²⁸⁷ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 97; vol. 2, pl. 6D; photograph reproduced in this volume.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 28, 68

This wall is not arranged into registers and is occupied by an offering table scene. The scene is of particular interest as it represents a stage in the development of the decoration of burial chambers. At the end of Dynasty 5 the walls of this chamber were treated as an extension of the chapel with representations of daily life in the tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥ*,²⁸⁸ but then all scenes of daily activities were eliminated in the burial chamber of *K3.j-ḥr-Pth* who, however, depicted himself seated at an offering table.²⁸⁹ The decoration of *ḥ-m-ḥr*'s burial chamber includes an offering table, with piles of various food provisions to the right and *ḥz*-jars in a stand, ewer and basin and loaves beneath, as well as a chair. Yet the chair is empty, although the identity of its prospective occupant is clearly indicated by the inscriptions above it. In later burial chambers only scenes of food and drink were depicted, but not living creatures, humans or animals.

The inscriptions above the chair are in seven vertical (1-7) and one horizontal (8) lines which read: 1) *jrj-pṣt ḥstj-ḥ tjtj z3b tjtj* 2) *jmj-r k3t nbt nswt* 3) *m t3 r ḏr.f ḥrj-tp nswt* 4) *jmj-r ḥwt-wrt mḏḥ zš nswt* 5) *jmj-r sḏmt nbt š3(t)* 6) *jm3ḥw ḥr tpj ḏw.f*²⁹⁰ 7) *jm3ḥw ḥr nṯr 3* 8) *ḥ-m-ḥr rn.f nfr Zzj* '1) the hereditary prince, the count, he of the curtain, judge and vizier, 2) the overseer of all the works of the king 3) in the entire land, the royal chamberlain, 4) the overseer of the great court, the master architect of the king, 5) the overseer of all secret hearings, 6) the honoured one before him who is on his hill, 7) the honoured one before the great god, 8) Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi'.

Above the offering table is written: *ḥ3 t ḥnqt p3t ḥ3 3pdw*²⁹¹ *ḥ3 m3-ḥḏ ḡḥs ḥ3 k3 ḡḥs ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt* 'one thousand of bread, beer and cakes, one thousand of fowl, one thousand of oryxes and gazelles, one thousand of oxen and gazelles, one thousand of alabaster and one thousand of clothes'. It is noticed that the animal entries, although in two columns, include two heads of each of the oryxes, gazelles and oxen, and of the last one ox is hornless while the second is horned. In front of the chair is written: *jmj ḥnk* 'place offerings'.

SARCOPHAGUS

Pls. 29, 69, 70

The chest is formed of one massive, hollowed-out block of limestone, with another block for the lid. The chest is decorated on its east face with *wḏ3t*-eyes and

²⁸⁸ Junker, *Giza* 4, pls. 2ff.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 8, pl. 21.

²⁹⁰ Here and on the sarcophagus Anubis is referred to only by his epithet *tpj ḏw.f* but not by name.

²⁹¹ The number of these birds, here four, vary between one and five; more than one may possibly indicate different types of geese such as *r*, *trp*, *zt*, *sr* and the pigeon *mnwt*, although they are not named (see for example Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 5:2, 11; El-Khouli - Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 40, 43; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 55:CG1575; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, fig. 34b).

an incised pattern showing twenty-eight panels,²⁹² with four more panels depicted on each of the north and south sides on the areas projecting beyond the sarcophagus recess. A line of text which runs between the *wdt*-eyes and the panels on the east face reads: *jmj-r k3t nbt nswt ʕnh-m-ʕ-Hr rn.f nfr Zzj t3tj z3b t3tj jmj-r zš(w) ʕ nswt Zzj rn.f nfr jmsḥw hr tpj ḏw.f nb t3 dsr Zzj* 'the overseer of all the works of the king, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi, he of the curtain, judge and vizier, the overseer of the scribes of the king's documents, Sesi, his beautiful name, the honoured one before him who is on his hill, lord of the sacred land, Sesi'. Above the panels on the north side are two short lines that read: 1) *jmsḥw hr ntr ʕ* 2) *ʕnh-m-ʕ-Hr* '1) the honoured one before the great god, 2) Ankhmahor'.

The top of the lid reaches the ceiling of the burial chamber and therefore it is impossible to verify whether it has any inscriptions. The east face of the lid has two lines of text that read:²⁹³ 1) *jmj-r k3t nbt nswt m t3 r dr(.f)*²⁹⁴ *Zzj ḏd.f j rmt 80*²⁹⁵ *wt ḥq3 hrt-ntr*²⁹⁶ *j3wt nbt ḥ3w.tj.sn r st tn (j)n jw mrjj.tn ḥzjj tn nswt prt-ḥrw (n).tn (m?) hrt-ntr* 2) *wnn jmsḥ.tn nfr hr ntr ʕ djdj.tn n(.j) ʕ pn n qrs(w) pn hr mwt.f*²⁹⁷ *m bw mn(ḥ) n rḥt.tn mj jrt.tn (n) ḥj qjr jrr ḥzzt n nb.f jnk Jzzj n mrwt* '1) the overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, Sesi, he says: Oh 80 men, embalmer and administrator of the necropolis and every functionary, who will descend to this place; do you desire that the king favours you, that invocation offerings come (to) you (in) the necropolis and your honour to be well before the great god, then you should place for me this lid of this sarcophagus upon its mother as efficiently as you are able,²⁹⁸ as that which you ought to do (for) an excellent spirit who did what his lord praised.²⁹⁹ I am the beloved, Sesi'.

The suggestion that the addressees of this speech should all be plurals, i.e. the 80 men, the embalmers and the administrators of the necropolis,³⁰⁰ is not necessarily correct. It is true that human figures as determinatives are eliminated in the burial chamber, which can cause some uncertainty with regard to singular and plural nouns, but in the scenes of funeral processions in the chapels there are usually one *wt* 'embalmer' and one *hrj-ḥbt* 'lector-priest' accompanying the coffin.³⁰¹ While

²⁹² The same number of panels is found on the east side of the sarcophagus of *Hntj-k3.j* (James, *Khentika*, 31).

²⁹³ For an earlier copy, translation and commentary on this text see Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 98ff; vol. 2, pl. 58:1-3. See also Sethe, *Urk.* 1, 204:18-205:8.

²⁹⁴ The *f* of *dr.f* is omitted.

²⁹⁵ For references to the 80 men of the necropolis see James, *Khentika*, 65; Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 49.

²⁹⁶ The title *ḥq3 hrt-ntr* 'administrator of the necropolis' is rarely attested (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 88 - CG1617; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 7, fig. 3).

²⁹⁷ The chest is rarely referred to as 'the mother of its lid' (see James *Khentika*, 65; Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 49).

²⁹⁸ For this expression see Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 100:XIV.

²⁹⁹ This is taken as *sdmt.n.f* relative form, with reference to the past, since it is written in the burial chamber as an address by *ʕnh-m-ʕ-Hr* to those who took charge of burying him.

³⁰⁰ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 99:V.

³⁰¹ See for example Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 12. The scene in the tomb of *Ppjj-ʕnh/Hnjj-km* is the most complete scene, but it should be noticed that the scene depicts successive stages of the funeral and accordingly the same people are shown repeatedly (Blackman, *Meir* 5, figs. 42, 43). However, there we find a *wt* and *jmj-r wt*, but still no multiplicity of embalmers.

the 80 men might be responsible for placing the lid on the sarcophagus, there is no need for believing that these were supervised by more than one 'administrator of the necropolis', or that more than one 'embalmer' and one 'lector priest'³⁰² took part in the actual burial by descending into the burial chamber.

A line of inscriptions along the top of the inner north and east sides of the chest reads: *jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c t3tj z3b t3tj ^cnh-m-^c-H[r] rn[.f] nfr Zzj hrj-tp nswt jmj-r hwt-wrt ^cnh-m-^c-Hr rn.f nfr Zzj jmh^w hr Wsjr* 'the hereditary prince, the count, he of the curtain, judge and vizier, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi; the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the great court, Ankhmahor, his beautiful name, Sesi, the honoured one before Osiris'. Below the inscription on the east side seven jars are depicted with the name of the contents written to the left of each as follows: 1) *stj-hb* 'stj-hb-oil', 2) *hknw* 'hknw-oil', 3) *sft* 'sft-oil', 4) *nhnm* 'nhnm-oil', 5) *tw3wt* 'tw3wt-oil', 6) *h3tt ^cš* 'best cedar oil', 7) *h3tt nt thnw* 'best Libyan oil'.³⁰³

^cnh-m-^c-Hr took every precaution to protect his body from any possible harm. No living humans or animals were depicted in the burial chamber and wherever possible determinatives representing humans, animals and certain birds were eliminated. While in other burial chambers the god Anubis is written phonetically in order to avoid drawing a jackal, here the name is not even mentioned and he is referred to only by the epithet *tpj-^dw.f*.³⁰⁴ However, this prudence was not absolutely consistent, for in the title *t3tj z3b t3tj* the jackal of *z3b* is drawn.


VI COLOUR CONVENTIONS

No traces of paint remain on the façade and very little in any of the rooms forming the superstructure. In contrast to the present lack of colour in the upper rooms, the painted decoration of the burial chamber is quite well preserved. It is apparent, however, that considerable deterioration and loss of detail has occurred since the publication of photographs of this chamber by Firth and Gunn in 1926.³⁰⁵

Colours of the pigments, as found in the burial chamber, are a bright blue, clear green, strong red, both ochre and clear yellow, black and white, the last two poorly preserved and the red frequently faded. Red is commonly used for the outline and details of objects and signs painted white and yellow, and black for those which are blue and green. Blue appears to have been used sparingly. There is a pleasing use of alternating colours in some scenes in the burial chamber, most notably among the chests and in groups of bread loaves and jars.

³⁰² This priest appears in similar texts in the burial chambers of *Hntj-k3.j* (James, *Khentika*, 65) and *K3.j-^cpr(w)* (Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 49).

³⁰³ Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 101.

³⁰⁴ *Hntj-k3.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j* write  with no determinative (James, *Khentika*, pls. 35, 40; Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 204, 207, 210). *Mrrw-k3.j* inscribed human determinatives in his burial chamber (ibid, pl. 210B). For a commentary on this problem see Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 171ff.

³⁰⁵ *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 6; reproduced in the present volume on pls. 26-28.

The only signs in the superstructure of the mastaba which retain colour are those inscribed on pillar 5 in room VI which are painted a bright blue, as is the standing figure at the bottom. In the burial chamber, a bright blue is also preserved on several signs in the offering list at the north end of the east wall. Inscriptions on the side and lid of the sarcophagus retain traces of green while those on the interior of the head end were executed only in black outline. The conventions reported below are restricted to elements in scenes and inscriptions where clear traces of colour are visible. The hieroglyphs, grouped by colour and following Gardiner's sign list, are all from the burial chamber. A table is included giving the heights of dado bands and registers, where completely preserved, on each wall.

Chapel

Door recesses: The internal recess of the small entry area which leads from the doorway of the tomb to room I retains a pale red colour, possibly to imitate in paint red granite or the reddish sandstone used for elements of the doorway. Evidence of the same treatment is found on the entrance recesses leading to rooms II, III, IV, VI and VII.

Background: Blue-grey, in upper register of north wall in room II; both thicknesses of doorway to room IV; middle and top registers of east wall of room IV.

Dado: Beneath a narrow band of black are two wide bands, generally nearly equal in height, one red and the lower one yellow separated by a narrow line of black, then black to floor.

Skin of male figure: Red, preserved on north and east walls of room I; north thickness of entry to room II; north, west and south walls of room II; north thickness of entry to room III; all four walls of room III; both thicknesses of doorway to room IV.

Hair: Traces of black on all four figures in bottom register north thickness of entry to room III; top register west thickness and two top registers east thickness of entry to room IV.

Hippopotamus: Traces of pale red, west wall of room I.

Bird: Traces of red on wing tips of bird held by first man in middle register, east thickness of entry to room IV.

Burial Chamber

Dado: Broad bands of red and yellow below, equal in height, defined by three horizontal black lines.

Banded frieze: Along sides and tops of walls, as well as all sides of niche in south wall, rectangles of blue-red-green-yellow separated by blocks with tripartite division in black-white-black, defined by green bands outlined in black. Room corners are marked with vertical ovoid chain borders in black and white.

Register and division lines: Black.

Empty chair: North wall, yellow and black with leg bases outlined in red; cushion white with red outline.

Offering table: North wall, loaves yellow; table no colour. An early photograph shows the table was originally mottled, probably blue or black like stone jars (see *Pl. 28a*).

Chests: (All may have originally had yellow interior.)

East wall north, top register, red with yellow interior; register 3 left, black with yellow markings and yellow interior.

East wall, registers 3 and 4, traces of yellow on two chests at southern end.

South wall, top register, both retain yellow and some faded black, yellow interior; registers 2 and 3, one black with yellow markings and yellow interior, one red with black leg bases; register 4, only chest at west end retains some red paint.

West wall south, registers 1 and 3, black with yellow markings; registers 2 and 4, red with black leg bases.

West wall north, black with yellow markings.

Woven trays: Usually flat but occasionally curved. East wall north and north wall each have two examples painted white with vertical or diagonal red lines and outline. Neither colour nor detail is well retained on other examples on east wall.

Tall jars for oil or drink: South and west walls and E-W connection of the two sections of the east wall, upper body red with rim and straw striped diagonally in red and white, and lower part heavily mottled black and white, now faded. (As the outlines of the black spots are broken and indistinct these were not reproduced in the line drawings, but see *Pls. 26a, 26b, 27a* .)

Tall jars:

East wall south, register 3, red; register 4, one black between two red with black top; north of door, middle register, one red with black top.

East wall north, top register, two red with black top on either side of one black; register 3, at either end one red with black top and one straight-sided jar yellow; group of three, two black and centre one red with black top.

North wall, two black on either side of one red. (The tops of several black jars retain a red outline which could indicate originally painted yellow or white.)

*h*z-jars:

West wall south, register 2 and spouted *h*z-jar in register 4, yellow with red outline.

North wall, two red and centre one yellow, placed in yellow stand outlined in red.



: North wall, upper part yellow with red lines and outline, lower part with black detail. An early photograph shows stand to be mottled like the lower part of oil jars (see *Pl. 28a*). These and a third example, east wall north, register 1, were probably all similarly decorated.



: East wall, north, register 3, placed on chest, base white with black detail.



: West wall south, register 4, yellow on tall yellow stand, both outlined in red.

Ewer and basin: West wall south, register 2 and north wall, yellow with red outline. On the west wall the label gives the material as 'fine gold'.

Linen bags: West wall south, white outlined in red.

Loaves of bread: (All with red outline.)

East wall south, yellow traces where colour remains at southern end; north of door, centre dark yellow between two yellow with red detail (on pale red trays).

East wall north, registers 1 and 3, grouped on top of chests, ochre yellow between two of clear yellow with red detail; conical loaves on woven trays, alternate yellow and red.

North wall, one ochre yellow between two clear yellow with red detail; conical loaves yellow with orange shading (both groups on woven trays).

Jewellery: South wall above niche, collar and pendants all yellow with red outline.

Lotus stems: East wall south (in bowl), red.

Granaries: East wall south, register 1, black with red door. Piles of grain, only one retains traces of yellow.

Oxen:

East wall south, registers 3 and 5, where colour remains, traces of pale red.

East wall north, register 2, one white with black spots and one, at left, white with red spots, red ropes binding legs; register 4, one white with black spots, rump, tail, ear, eye surround, black rope binding legs, red anus, tongue and slash on stomach; one white with spots and all detail in red.

Oryx: East wall north, register 2, white with black spots; register 4 white with red stomach and outline, and black ear, eye and eye surround, tip of tail, hooves, horns.

Forelegs:

East wall north, register 2, some traces of red; register 4, upper part white with red detail and outline, thighs red, lower legs of two to left white with black spots, hooves white with red outline on one and black outline on other; third is white with spots and all detail red. Originally those in register 2 were decorated in the same manner as those in register 4 (see *Pl. 26c*). Forelegs are coloured to match the animal from which they were cut.

East wall south, register 3 and north wall, where colour remains, traces of red.

Rope: Red (except east wall north, register 4, centre, binding oxen is black).

Ribs and cuts of meat: East wall north, registers 2 and 3 and north wall, red.

Calf's head: East wall north, register 1 and north wall, white spotted with black.

North wall, red outline only. An early photograph shows heads on this wall were originally spotted with black (see *Pl. 26c*).

Geese: North wall at top, body blue, head and wing detail red; two at bottom, yellow bodies with red beaks, eyes, tail feathers and legs.

Fruits:

East wall north, register 1, yellow with red outline (on tray).

Piles, east wall south, register 2 (from left): *w^h* 'carob beans', dark red; *sšpt jšrrt* 'grapes', brown?; *nbs*-fruit, orange; *jšd*-fruit, yellow; *t-nbs* 'nbs-fruit cake', orange; *dšb* 'figs', yellow; *šht*-fruit, yellow.

Liver: East wall north, register 1, blue with black outline; north wall, green.

Onions: East wall south, register 4, bulbs traces of red; east wall north, register 3, all red.

Lettuce: North wall, green.

Sarcophagus

Beneath the inscriptions on the chest a panel decoration with an overall height of .40m. extends across the lower part of the north, south and east sides. Across the top are two horizontal lines bands outlined in red, the upper retaining traces of green and the lower traces of blue. Below are panels .30m. high of double-leafed doors

TABLE I
HEIGHTS OF FLOOR LEVELS AND OF DADO BANDS AND REGISTERS

	Floor above mean sea level*	Dado	Reg. 1	Reg. 2	Reg. 3	Reg. 4	**
			Measured from baseline to baseline**				
Room I	53.85m						
East		16.8-16.9cm	26.5-25.3cm	27.5cm	-- cm	-- cm	
South		16.8-16.4	--	--	--	--	
West		17.5-18.8	15.8	--	--	--	
North		17.7-16.7	35.5	33.0	--	--	
Door I-II							
South		16.5					
North		17.0					
Room II	53.88						
East		16.2	--	--	--	--	
South		16.9	29.6-30.7	29.7-28.8	--	--	
West		16.9-16.5	28.9/42.0	29.2/28.7	--	--	
North		16.4	30.5-29.0	30.0-29.7	--	--	
Door II-III							
South		17.2	43.0	43.5	43.5	--	
North		16.8	43.5-43.0	43.0-43.5	--	--	
Room III	53.74						
East		17.0	52.0	51.5	--	--	
South		17.0	33.0	29.0 (text)	46.0	--	
West		17.0-16.5	41.0	41.0	41.0	--	
North		17.0	44.3	44.3	43.5	--	
Door III-IV							
East		17.7	48.0	49.0	50.0	--	
West		16.1	48.0	48.0-48.5	--	--	
Room IV	53.55						
East		17.0	41.8-42.0	32.5-32.2	--	--	
South		17.0	41.5	32.5	--	--	
North		17.0	41.7	32.0	--	--	
Door III-V							
South		16.5-16.7	41.0	41.0	40.0	--	
North		--	42.0	42.0	38.0	--	
Room V	53.85						
East		--	30.5-30.0	30.0-30.5	30.5	--	
Door I-VI							
East		--	37.0	--	--	--	
West		--	24.0	12.5	24.0	--	
Room VI	53.93						
East		17.7	33.4	--	--	--	
South (east)		17.5	33.0	--	--	--	
South (west)		18.0	32.2	--	--	--	
North		--	--	--	--	--	
Burial Chamber	35.40						
East		16.1	25.0	25.3-23.5	23.5-25.5	20.2	
					Reg. 5	29.0-34.0	
-north end		18.2	29.0	30.5-31.0	29.9-30.0	31.5	
-connecting wall		18.6	28.5	33.0	30.0	29.5	
South		18.2-17.2	25.0-27.5	33.0	32.5-31.0	35.0	
West -south		17.0-18.0	29.8-32.5	30.9-30.5	34.0-31.7	32.5-31.0	
-north		17.5	24.0-23.0	26.7-26.3	23.5-24.0	45.5-43.5	
North		17.7-18.1					

















* heights above mean sea level are measured to the modern floor level

** two numbers indicate variation in height, the first the left end of register, the second the right









each .065m. wide. At the northern and southern corners several of these panels retain part of an ovoid chain decoration in black and white; the only other paint preserved is a vertical green line separating the two doors.³⁰⁶ The spaces between the door panels, .05m. wide, retain, alternately, traces of blue and green.

Hieroglyphic Signs






Polychrome

- D1  face red, hair and beard black.
- D45  arms red, sceptre white with red outline.
- E23  yellow with black ear, red eye, tail and claws.
- F4  head and forelegs yellow with red outline; mane green with black outline; eye, paws and claws black; ear of one example is black and of the other red.
- F35  white with red detail and outline.
- G17  yellow with black spots, red eyes, detail and outline.
- G43  yellow with red eye, beak, wing outline and legs.
- H1  one example with traces of blue, another retains red outline only.
- I9  yellow with red outline, black horns.
- M26  green with red on flowers and base.
- O22  yellow with red forked pole support.
- S28  white with red outline,  red.
- W22  top black, bottom red.
- Y3  only colour retained is red on rope.
-  determinative for *jšd*-fruit east wall, blue centre, black outline.

Red

- D21  D36  O29  O34  M43 
- N26  S29  Aa 14 

Yellow - all red outline

- R8  T11  X2  Aa2  Loaf 

³⁰⁶ Similar panelling is preserved on the sarcophagus of *Hntj-k3.j* but the colouring scheme differs, using red and yellow on the horizontal bands and panels (James, *Khentika*, 31-32, pl. 39).










White - all red outline

T3  V19  V20  Z11 

Blue - usually black outline

N37  S29  T28  V4  W24  X1 

Green - all black outline

M17  M23  O1  Q3  U1  V4 
V13  V28  Aa1 

Black

N35 

VII INSCRIBED FRAGMENTS

The tomb of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* was first cleared at the end of the last century and few objects were recovered during the 1995 season. Two small fragments of decorated limestone found in the main burial chamber certainly do not belong to its walls, nor is it likely that either came from any room in *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s chapel. In room VII, the chapel of *Jšfj*, a number of larger and more important relief fragments stored face down in the sand have no recorded provenance. Although stylistically they resemble the relief in *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s chapel, only one piece, TNE95:F146, can be attributed with certainty to this tomb. All of the fragments are decorated in raised relief.

TNE95:F143 Pl. 71

Part of a banded frieze and fruit? Some traces of red and black. Found in the burial chamber of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*. W 12.0cm. H 10.0cm.

TNE95:F144 Pl. 71

A hand and fish hooks? Dark grey ground, traces of red on fingers. Found in the burial chamber of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*. W 9.1cm. H 9.5cm.

TNE95:F145 Pl. 71

Part of wall scene of fighting boatmen in papyrus skiffs wearing lotus headdresses and with lotus plants in the band of water beneath. Skin pale red. Stored in room VII. W 74.3cm. H 54.0cm.

TNE95:F146 Pls. 30a, 71

Good quality relief from a wall scene showing *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* facing right, seated in a palanquin carried by attendants and holding a stick laced between the fingers of his left hand. *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr*'s identity is certain as his name is inscribed before his face. Beneath the chair is the head of a male figure wearing a short curled wig and behind

him the remnants of a curled wig of another figure. Directly behind the tomb owner is a dwarf with a monkey sitting on his head, and in the register beneath them is the forearm and hand of a male figure holding a long pole, presumably supporting a sunshade.³⁰⁷ The only trace of paint is red on the lips of *ḥ-m-ḥr*. Stored in room VII. W 97.0cm. H 52.0cm.

TNE95:F147 Pls. 30b, 72

Part of a fowling scene showing birds in two trees and four in each of two cages, with two male figures standing at the right and another seated at the left. No colour. Stored in room VII. W 97.5cm. H 29.0cm.

TNE95:F148 Pls. 30c, 72

Part of a scene of rendering accounts with two supervisors standing and facing each other and three men bending or kneeling. A group of signs between the two supervisors reads *jrjj ḥst.k* 'I will do your wish' and behind the second are preserved several signs, *m - r - k - jw - m*, the reading of which is uncertain. A rectangular 'frame' chiselled around this scene is apparently an attempt to remove it from this block or to reuse the stone for another purpose. No colour. Stored in room VII. W 54.0cm. H 37.8cm.

TNE95:F149 Pl. 72

Part of a register with two complete and three incomplete male figures facing left and wearing pointed kilts, the last two carrying throw(?) sticks. Beneath the register line are the tops of signs in a horizontal inscription. Traces of red on legs. Stored in room VII. W 57.0cm. H 40.4cm.

TNE95:F150 Pl. 72

Part of three columns of inscriptions: 1) ... *[ḥ]r jt?*... 2) ... *[zš] ḥ nswt jmj-r mḥw*... 3) ... *jmj-r jzwj n nswt* ... '1) ? 2) ... scribe of the king's documents, the overseer of fowlers ... 3) ... the overseer of the two chambers of the king ...'. No colour. Stored in room VII. W 37.5cm. H 46.4cm.

³⁰⁷ Although palanquin scenes gained popularity during the Sixth Dynasty, particular similarities exist between this representation and that in the neighbouring tomb of *K3-gm-n.j* (von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 22).

APPENDIX: FINDS FROM THE BURIAL CHAMBER

Pl. 73.

Some objects discovered by Firth and Gunn during their excavation of the burial chamber of *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* were reported in their publication.³⁰⁸ The text is given below and the illustrations are reproduced on *Pl. 73*.

"The following objects were found in the debris on the floor of the funerary chamber:

- i. Alabaster slab with seven depressions for the sacred oils.
- ii. Small alabaster *model* jars and saucers.
- iii. Copper model vessels originally gilt. (not illustrated)
- iv. Copper model tools originally gilt.
- v. Lower part of an alabaster headrest with name of *ḥAnkhmaḥor*."

The inscriptions on numbers i. and v. are:

- i. *stj-ḥb* 'stj-ḥb-oil', *ḥknw* 'ḥknw-oil', *sft* 'sft-oil', *nḥnm* 'nḥnm-oil', *twꜣwt* 'twꜣwt-oil', *ḥꜣtt nt ʕš* 'best cedar oil', *ḥꜣtt nt tḥnw* 'best Libyan oil'.
- v. *jmj-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt ḥrj-tp nswt*, *jmḥw ḥr Jnpw*, *ḥnḥ-m-ḥr* 'the overseer of all the works of the king, the royal chamberlain, the honoured one before Anubis, Ankhmahor'.

³⁰⁸ *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 18, figs. 10-11; vol. 2, pls. 13:D, 14:2.

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